GURU TEGH BAHADUR

PROPHET AND MARTYR

(A BIOGRAPHY)

By

DR. TRILOCHAN SINGH

With Best Compliments
From:-
DHARAM PARCHAR COMMITTEE
S G P C. Amritsar.

ਗਾਰਵਿਤ ਪਿਆਰ ਸਾਹਿਤ
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ਧਰਮ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕਮੇਟੀ,
ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ.
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GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE
SIS GANJ, CHANDNI CHOWK
DELHI

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To

My Son

Anurag Singh

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FOREWORD

BY

DUNCAN GREENLEES

If you dye a cloth, you must first wash it clean from every stain, then soak it in the chosen dye—golden, azure, rosy crimson, or any colour you may choose. So, if you would take to yourself the character, the nobility of a chosen hero, you must first be cleansed from personal qualities which do not match with his, and then soak yourself in those that possess it.

This is the process of *Satsang* (communion with the dye divine), taught by all the saints, sages and prophets of every Faith as the quickest way of spiritual growth. But there are so few saints and sages whom we may meet and whose company we may cultivate; in these days the world chases the folly of mere cleverness and sensual worldliness, and cares little for spirituality. What shall we do, then, to gain *Satsang*, the company of the true and the good ?

Well there are books, books written *by* the saints and prophets and left behind as their bequest to those who would follow in their footsteps, and books written *about* the saints and prophets by those who love them and dwell upon their qualities and deeds. So we have the *"Guru Granth"-Adi and Dasam* and lives of the Gurus and their followers like *Suraj Prakash* and *Sakhi Pothi* etc.

Here the well-known scholar of Sikh history, Dr. Trilochan Singh, gives us a new book of this second type and the first of its kind in form, style and depth of historical exposition. Of course it is no contemporary account, written by one who was physically an eye-witness of the events. But it has been written after very wide, deep, loving and careful research into every scrap of evidence on which he could lay his hands. He has travelled to every place visited by Guru Tegh Bahadur,

probed into every recorded and unrecorded tradition, studied everything available from the provincial history of various places, and unearthed many new documents about the hero of his biography.

After such intensive labour in collecting historical data, he examined and digested all the available evidence and selected the material from the immaterial. Then after an absorbing study of the material, he has like an inspired Writer artistically reconstructed the life and times of Guru Tegh Bahadur into a living and eventful panaroma. The historic accuracy he has tried to achieve and the literary effect of his style is superb. The work rises before us like a beautiful and majestic temple firmly built on a rock, shedding light and radiance from without and ringing with the music of the most heroic life from within. The learned author, through this outstanding contribution has given a new impulse and a new model to historical literature, particularly to the writing of historical biography.

The creative power, the originality of his method, the courageous confrontation of unsolved historical problems, the acute analysis and exposition of historical evidence, and the careful marshalling of all available details into a stirring narrative speak of the stupendous labours of the gifted Writer.

Speaking as the first reader of this book whom the learned author has honoured by letting me read it in manuscript form, I must say that I have found it to be one of the most inspiring biographies I have ever read. Putting aside the bias of earlier ideas, some of them based on wrong understanding and baseless guesses of other writers, you can indeed get here a new and clearer vision of the historic personality of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his self-less life of service and sacrifice.

What has impressed me most in this book is the scientific approach to historical facts and events, the careful sifting of the true and false legendary history and a really appealing style and diction and the accurate English in which the book has been written. As, I suppose, from a much older man, such a remark may be forgiven from me, when offered with defe-

rence and respect to a well-known authority and doctor in his subject, there is certainly no language other than English in which I could have expressed myself with one-tenth of this skill. A *namaskar* to him then. As for the matter, to my little mind, it is truly admirable, compiled with loving care and accuracy, with the devotion of a true Sikh, as offering at the feet of the One Guru of mankind. And as such a delight to read.

The author's motive has been to draw us into close communion (holy *Satsang*) of the historical personality of the Ninth Guru, of whom less is perhaps generally known than the First, Fifth and Tenth, but whose sweetness, courage and kindly resolution are in no way less than the greatest prophets whom we can name.

Thus is the garment of the mind washed clean and can then be dipped in the pail of dye, there to soak, if the owner be wise enough, until it takes on the rich and fast dye of the Guru's own nature for ever more. In this book can indeed be found *Satsang* (communion with the divine Guru) by those who are wise enough and fortunate enough to give the time for that soaking, brooding process, whereby alone the fulness of its value may be drawn, the essence of its sweetness be absorbed.

What do we say to the giver of so sweet, so refreshing a drink, to the introducer to so rich, so blessed a companionship? What can we receivers say more than a hearty *'Thank You'* to the giver of such a gift? And he, what can please him more than to know it has been used with full enjoyment and profit, to confer on its reader the blessing of so glorious a friendship as to be a true disciple of the One True Guru, in whose Name he dedicated the happy work of writing it! So may it be.

DUNCAN GREENLEES

Madras 17
28.1.65

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

When I undertook the writing of this biography of Guru Tegh Bahadur, I stepped into an unexplored and barren field of Sikh history in which practically no research work had been done. A group of brilliant historians have no doubt conducted considerable research work, and written much on other periods of Sikh history, but almost everyone has shunned and even avoided confronting the challenging and complex problems of the Guru-period of Sikh history. The reasons of course are obvious. On post-Guru period, and particularly on Ranjit Singh period, the material available is so abundant that the historian has only to pick and choose the events and analyse the historical forces which contributed to the rise and fall of the Sikh power. For a historian working on the Guru-period the historical material is not only scarce, but whatever is there is to be hunted out after a laborious and irksome research work. Without unearthing some new material it is impossible to reconstruct any phase of this period.

Apart from what Mr. Macauliffe wrote on the lives of the Gurus five decades ago, and apart from the scholarly historical notes and comments of Bhai Vir Singh on Kavi Santokh Singh's *magnum opus, Suraj Prakash*, practically nothing substantial has been written on the life and times of any of the ten Gurus. A few biographies of some of the Gurus that have appeared differ from Macauliffe's version only in language, the historical material remains practically the same. It was in the Guru-period of Sikh history that Sikhism developed all its traditions, institutions and built up its social, political and cultural philosophy. It is in this period, ten inspired prophets from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh carried their message all over India and abroad, performed the most heroic deeds and suffered martyrdom for freedom and faith, and gave to humanity outstanding philosophical literature. Yet in recently published learned volumes on Sikh history this important period of about two hundred years has been penned in a casual manner. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh in their learned "*History of the Sikhs*" Vol. I (1469-1765), devote 9 pages to Guru Arjan, 8 pages to Guru Tegh

Bahadur, while they devote 28 pages to Banda's eight years' role in Sikh history. The Guru-period from 1469-1708 A.D. is summed up in 79 pages while over 100 pages are devoted to the period 1708-1765 A.D. Khushwant Singh in his recently published "*A History of the Sikhs*" Vol. I (1469-1839 A.D.) devotes 7 pages to Guru Arjan and 4 pages to Guru Tegh Bahadur but he devotes 18 pages to Banda. The Guru-period is summed up by him in 70 pages while the period from 1708-1839, less than half the Guru-period, is covered in 200 pages. While the battles of Banda are lustily described in both the books in considerable details, the battles of Guru Gobind Singh are summed up in two or three pages and half of them are not even mentioned.

Thus, when I started research work on this biography and first collected the published and unpublished material easily available, and tried to reconstruct the life of Guru Tegh Bahadur, I found myself in a sea of perplexity. There were too many discrepancies and disconnections in the narrative. There was confusion and contradiction in available facts on all phases of the Guru's life. Only a scientific historical investigation could unravel the truth behind a mass of confused material which ranged from legendary fanciful stories to some of the wild guesses by some contemporary historians. The authenticity of every record had to be checked up before accepting it as a historical document. I had therefore, at every step, to separate the contradictory strands that were intertwined so as to present the clearest possible account of the Guru's life in chronological order and thus discover the motive and inspiration that underlay the silently active and dynamic life of Guru Tegh Bahadur. For twenty-two years or so he lived with his father, Guru Hargobind. Historians skip over this period as if nothing happened to the mind and soul of Guru Tegh Bahadur. For another twenty years he led the life of elected Silence during which period he was, as a matter of fact, silently active. And then for eleven years of his pontificate he went all over North India and even to the remotest regions of Bengal and Assam in order to bring about an *economic*, social, spiritual and political awakening among the people. Guru Tegh Bahadur's interest in the economic lot of the people is of great importance. During eleven years of his pontificate he financed the digging of

hundreds of wells, some of them fitted with persian-wheels. The first wells that were ever dug in most of the arid regions of Punjab, Hariyana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal were those which either Guru Nanak or Guru Tegh Bahadur got constructed. The first and the only wells that were dug in such remote and important places like Dacca (now in East Pakistan) were those which Guru Nanak and Guru Tegh Bahadur got dug. The economic problem of irrigation and food which these wells solved was always close to the heart of the Gurus.

Cattle breeding and trade were also developed by the Gurus. Trade between Assam and Punjab, between Bengal and Punjab, and with other regions like Ceylon, Kabul, where the Guru's missionaries had been sent, flourished to such an extent, that Guru Gobind Singh was able to get horses, elephants, swords, shields and other weapons from the remotest regions of India like Bengal, Assam, Kabul and Kandhar.

Like Mary, mother of Jesus, Holy Mother Nanaki was an eye witness to the prophetic life and martyrdom of her son, Tegh Bahadur from birth to death. But Guru Tegh Bahadur was more fortunate than Jesus in that, all his closest disciples, who were permitted to accompany him suffered and died the most tragic death with him. None of them betrayed him and none of them denied him during the agonising period of suffering, torture and martyrdom.

Guru Gobind Singh was nine years old when his father suffered martyrdom and he was about forty-one when his eighty year old mother, Mata Gujari died an equally tragic death in Mughal prison. Thus the life of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his devoted wife, Mata Gujari, which begins when Guru Hargobind the sixth Guru of the Sikhs was 25, and ends when Guru Gobind Singh, the last Guru was 41, covers nearly half of Sikh history. As a biographer I had to reconstruct the life and mental and spiritual development of Guru Tegh Bahadur from his birth onwards. I had to search and find historical material for the events of his childhood, boyhood, youth and middle age. Fortunately for every period I was able to find some useful material. After extensive research

and intensive investigations, I had to proceed from exploration of facts to tests and from tests to verifications and discover the truth which was in closest accord with the incidents of outer and inner life of the Guru. I had therefore to exclude from the historical inquiry all that was legendary, imaginary and non-historical. Nevertheless, I had to study and retain those strange and miraculous events that took place in Kamarup (Assam), the land of magic and beauty, which it then was, and for which there is abundant historical evidence.

Facts and dates are very important part of history, but facts alone do not make history. "A fact," says one of Pirandello's characters, "is like a sack; it will not stand up till you have put something in it. It is not fully realized by most of the writers on Sikh history that nineteenth century fetishism of facts and dates, which is still a creed with many of us, does not make sensible history. The 'Garden of Eden' age of presenting scissors-and-paste history is over. Thereby I do not suggest that facts and documents should be ever treated too cavalierly. The facts whether found in documents or not have still to be processed by the historian before he can make any use of them. As E. H. Carr puts it, 'the historian without his facts is rootless and futile, and the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless.' "

I have tried hard and conscientiously to "navigate delicately between the Scylla of an untenable theory of history as an objective compilation of facts, of the unqualified primacy of fact over interpretation, and the Charybdis of an equally untenable theory of history as the subjective product of the mind of the historian, who established the facts of history, and masters them through the process of interpretation, between a view of history having the centre of gravity in the past and a view having the centre of gravity in the present."

"History is not a linear series of events but has depth as well as surface." "An event is an abstraction from the matrix of history, and has significance only in its connectedness." Guru Gobind Singh fought the battle of *Bhangani* with Hindu Rajas of Shivalik Hills and won it on September 18, 1688 A.D. This fact is only an event giving the temporal setting. It is

the political and ideological conflict leading upto the event, and the consequences of the event that make history. Facts must undergo a vast winnowing process, and be illumined by the causes and human motives and thoughts working behind them.

A writer of historical biography has to work according to the methods of two disciplines: that of history and of literature. Each of them has its own methods and when they come together, their methods have to be synthesised. It took me nearly four months to decide which method of writing the biography should be followed. After studying all the methods adopted by eminent biographers, I have adopted a method and style which is neither of any particular biographer, nor can I claim it to be distinctly my own.

"A biographer" says Andre Maurois, "has two duties: he must be a portrait painter and a historian. As the former, he must provide a portrait which shall be '*life-like*' and at the same time a good piece of painting in itself. As the latter he must assemble a number of genuine facts, arrange them intelligibly and give to his work an artistic form. A biography should give us the faithful picture of a human being on his way through life and when I say faithful, I mean to say that the biographer must base his work on solid documentation and organise his findings in such a way as to produce a good book. He must weigh the written evidence with a critical eye, comparing one with the other. He must so thoroughly soak in the contents of the documents as to be able if necessary to write without further reference to them. He must constantly be at pains to retouch his picture as a portrait painter does by adding something here, modifying something there, coming closer and closer to truth. Interpretation of facts should be undertaken with the utmost care and be solidly supported. A true portrait should be a reconciliation with the sitter. A great biography should like the close of a great drama, leave behind it a feeling of serenity. We collect into a small bunch the flowers, the few flowers, which brought sweetness into life and present it as an offering to an accomplished destiny. A biographer must show himself to be the equal of a great musician and a great poet."

they rendered during my stay in
research work. I am also grat
Bhuyan the eminent historian
Kaur, M.A. for the help they re
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Within the limits of my ability I have done my best. Guru Tegh Bahadur's heroic life of unparalleled patience, endurance, and his god-like ethics which 'grievest not in grief and is unmoved in joy and sorrow, which fears no one, and striketh fear in no one,' was constant source of inspiration. The difficulties and the suffering I had to undergo during the period of research and writing of this book, amounted to an agonising penance, and *tapasya* bordering on Job's sorrows.

In the main narrative of the biography I have followed the synthetic method of history while in the notes and comments I have followed the analytical method, thus combining the two. The intrinsic history of the Guru's life has been given as much importance as the external history. As innumerable new documents have been unearthed, photastat copies of a number of them have been given, and textual references along with the translation have been given in footnotes. All the translations of the scriptures and of historical references not hitherto translated by any one, are the renderings of the author and all the photographs except a few, published in the book were taken by the author.

The research work and the publication of this book in such an excellent form would have been impossible without the munificence of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Delhi, an autonomous and independent young organization of the Sikhs, managing the historical shrines of Delhi. The committee financed the research and publication of this book. It is the first Sikh organisation which has taken up seriously the publication of Sikh history based on new and original research work. No other Sikh organization has produced a single biography of any Guru nor have any commentaries of Sikh Scriptures been published by anyone so far.

The credit for initiating this plan goes to the late Dr. Trilok Singh, a prominent and energetic member of the G.P.C., Delhi who after his visit to Russia felt the necessity of such biographies of the Sikh Gurus. I was telegraphically asked to reach Delhi and all decisions and plans were finalised at the residence of Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker of Lok Sabha. I promised to write a book of 250 pages (ordinary book size). Little did I imagine that I would have to put

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I am grateful to Dr
Commissioner at Dacc
Military Administrator

Within the limits of my ability I have done my best. Guru Tegh Bahadur's heroic life of unparalleled patience, endurance, and his god-like ethics which 'grievest not in grief and is unmoved in joy and sorrow, which fears no one, and striketh fear in no one,' was constant source of inspiration. The difficulties and the suffering I had to undergo during the period of research and writing of this book, amounted to an agonising penance, and *tapasya* bordering on Job's sorrows.

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The research work and the publication of this book in such an excellent form would have been impossible without the munificence of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Delhi, an autonomous and independent young organization of the Sikhs, managing the historical shrines of Delhi. The committee financed the research and publication of this book. It is the first Sikh organisation which has taken up seriously the publication of Sikh history based on new and original research work. No other Sikh organization has produced a single biography of any Guru nor have any commentaries of Sikh Scriptures been published by anyone so far.

The credit for initiating this plan goes to the late Dr. Trilok Singh, a prominent and energetic member of the G.P.C., Delhi who after his visit to Russia felt the necessity of such biographies of the Sikh Gurus. I was telegraphically asked to reach Delhi and all decisions and plans were finalised at the residence of Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker of Lok Sabha. I promised to write a book of 250 pages (ordinary book size). Little did I imagine that I would have to put

in ten times the amount of labour I thought was involved in it. The work now in the hands of the readers is about four times of what I had promised the G.P.C., Delhi. Although the unfortunate changes in the committee, undue interference in the project by the S.G.P.C., and the political pre-occupations of the committee delayed the publication of the work by about three years, I am much beholden to Bakhshi Gurcharan Singh, the outgoing President of the G.P.C. and the committee that worked under him, and is now working under his successor, for taking up the matter seriously and promptly and providing all facilities for its excellent printing and production. I am thankful to Bakhshi Gurcharan Singh also for going through the manuscript of the book and giving valuable suggestions from his surprising store of deep knowledge of Sikh history, theology, and the niceties of English language, which were gratefully accepted. All the prominent members of the Committee, namely, Sardar Gyan Singh, President, Jathedar Santokh Singh, Secretary, Jathedar Avatar Singh Kohli, and Sardar Mehtab Singh have all along taken keen interest and given me great encouragement and support in the completion of the work for which I am grateful to them. I also thank Sardar Gurdial Singh, the talented Manager of G.P.C. and his staff, for their prompt help and service in the cause of this project.

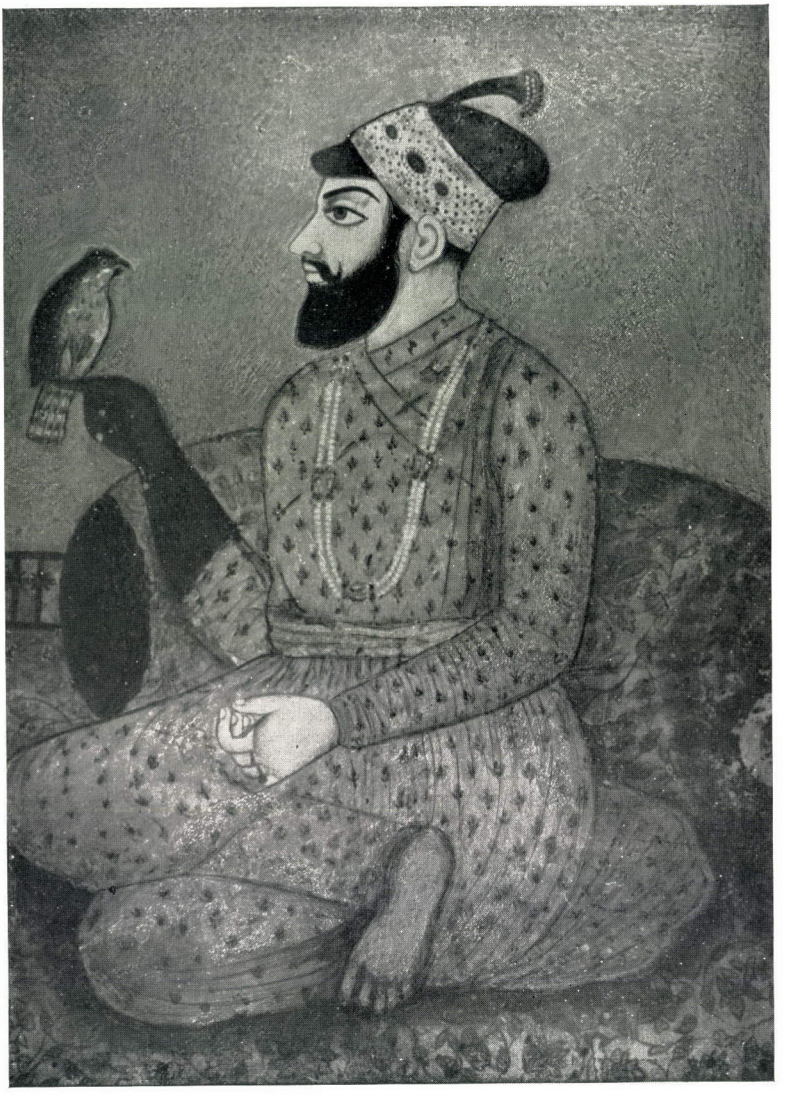
My special thanks are due to Mr. Duncan Greenlees who was the first to read the book in manuscript form, and for giving extremely useful suggestions after reading every line of the book minutely. All those who have read his forty books, most of them published by the Theosophic Society, know how deep a scholar of Comparative Study of Religions he was. On the day he sent me his Foreword to this book, he had sent to the press a scholarly work on Mahayana Buddhism based on original sources. He wished his last book to be "*Mysticism East and West*" and I had agreed to work with him on it as co-author, as his health did not permit him to work much. But death snatched him before we started work on this Volume.

I am grateful to Dr. P. K. Banerjee, the then Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca and to Major-General Umrao Khan, Military Administrator, East Pakistan for the personal help

they rendered during my stay in East Pakistan for historical research work. I am also grateful to the late Dr. S. K. Bhuyan the eminent historian of Assam and Shm. Iqbal Kaur, M.A. for the help they rendered in studying and deciphering Assamese records. I also can never forget the kindness and generosity of the Librarians of all the leading libraries in India and Pakistan and the Director of National Archives, for going out of the way to help me in my research work whenever I visited the libraries.

Trilochan Singh

Model Town
Ludhiana-2
Punjab



GURU TEGH BAHADUR (1669 A.D.)
(Original painting prepared by a painter of Shaista Khan's court at *Sangat Tola Gurdwara,* Dacca

CHAPTER I

BIRTH IN THE HOLY CITY

THE holy city of Amritsar[1] was fast asleep. The gong sounded[2] the third quarter of the night and announced the coming of dawn. No light was burning except the dim light of the stars. It was Sunday, the 1st April in the year 1621 A.D.[3].

Suddenly, the doors of the Harimandir opened, and a blazing light began to burn in the holy temple. The four doors of Harimandir (now known as the Golden Temple)[4], invited the followers of four Vedas and four Semitic Books to this unique prayer House of humanity. It invited the high and low, the rich and poor, the black and white people to be one in the unity of the spirit and receive without discrimination the light and wisdom of God. It invited the Hindus and Muslims, the Brahmin and the Pariah, the Jew and Christian to come and listen to the rapturous songs of divine Teachers of all times.

The High Priest, Bhai Buddha[5], with his deep mystic eyes covered with the spirit of exaltation, walked with measured steps towards the temple door. A devout crowd followed him eager to touch his feet, or at least the hem of his white robes. When he entered the inner temple he bowed before the Holy Book, the *Adi Granth* (then known as *Pothi Sahib*) and sat on the sanctified seat of the High Priest.

Just then, the sound of the conch shell and the drum[6] beat was heard. Bhai Buddha lifted his arms out of the flowing robes like two blazing torches above the heads of the congregation and said in a melodious voice: " Brothers and Sisters of the holy congregation (*Sadh-Sangat*), the Lord of the two swords, our true King, Sri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Sovereign[7] on the throne of Baba Nanak is coming." These words uttered with burning faith and unbounded devotion cast a trance over the multitude.

Twenty-six year old Guru Hargobind, tall with a Herculean body[8], calm and radiant, dressed in the royal robes of the times, entered the inner temple. His youthful personality reflected the valour and fearlessness of David, the serenity of

Zeus and the majesty and glory of Solomon. On his right side he was wearing the sword of *piri* (spiritual sovereignty) and on his left side he was wearing the sword of *miri* (political sovereignty)[9]. This was to be wielded only against cruelty and oppression and to protect fundamental freedom. The Guru's was the sword which cared not for the authority of the despots and earthly rulers. His sword destroyed all fear of the humble toiling masses, and removed all such belief that evil and sin are stronger than righteousness, or that tyranny is stronger than faith and love of God. Though he was the ruler of the Kingdom of the Spirit, he considered it his bounden duty to protect the weak, the virtuous, the helpless, and down-trodden from exploitation and cruelty without himself coveting any political power or earthly realm. A religion, philosophy or culture, that cannot defend itself when the most cruel and savage forces attack it, is bound to perish. Evil, in its most vulgar and barbaric manifestation, has to be fought with its own weapons.

Accompanying the Master were, Bhai Gurdas, the scion of Sikh history, Bhai Bidhi Chand,[10] formerly the Robin Hood of *Majha* forests ; his sons: Baba Gurditta and Baba Suraj Mal. As the Master stood before the Holy Book in utter reverence for the Word of God, devotion and the light of love radiated from his glowing eyes. The congregation felt that the Master was pouring out his Spirit on all flesh and everyone felt the light of his love like the refreshing dew. The Master bowed before the Holy Book in humble salutation and then sat on the right side of it.

The exalted silence of the temple was filled with music. Babak[11], the rebeck player and Abdulla[12] the bard were singing very melodious songs in the musical mode of *Asa Rag*[13]. The immanence and transcendence of the living Spirit of God was felt in every song.

After about an hour, a man entered the temple and bowed before Guru Hargobind, and in a whisper said something to him. He then went to the High Priest, Bhai Buddha, and gave him some happy news. As soon as the song ended, Bhai Buddha addressed the congregation : "By the permission of the divine Master, whose presence here radiates joy and compassion on the congregation (*Sadh Sangat*), I break to you, dear brothers and sisters, the glad news of the birth of the

fifth son[14] in the House of our glorious Lord, Guru Hargobind Sahib, the true King and Lord of the fourteen worlds. Babak will now sing the song of thanks-giving to hail the birth of the great soul". Babak, flushed with new inspiration, strung his *rabab* to the following hymn:

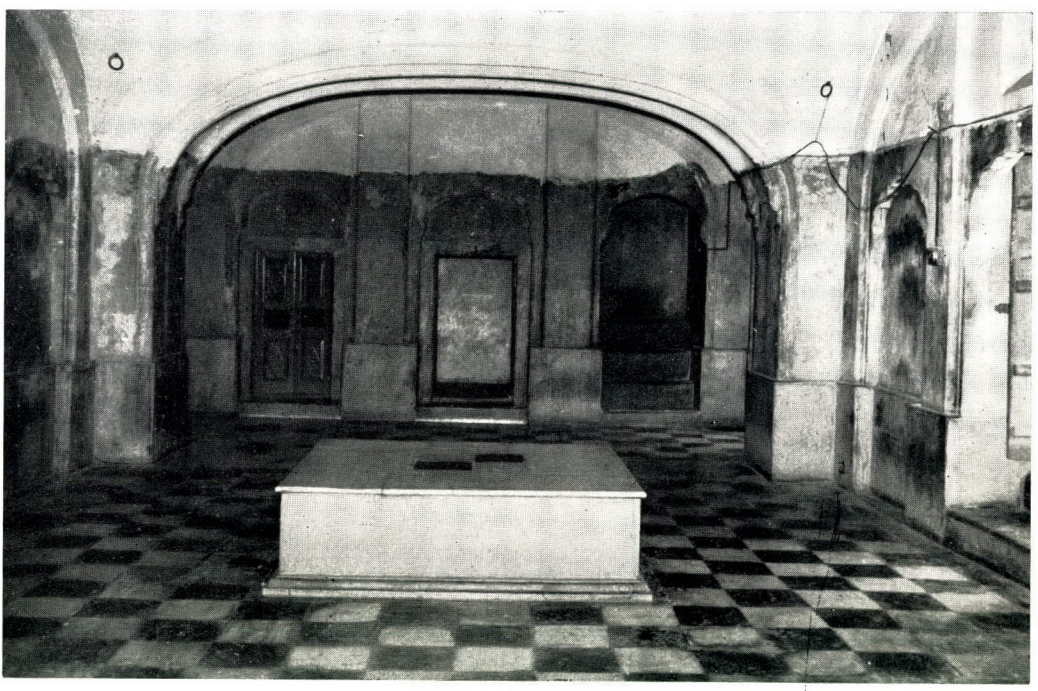
> The true Lord has sent the great soul,[15]
> Blessed is the Child born from His Spirit.
> When the Child alighted in the womb of the mother,
> She experienced great joy and bliss.
> The Son is born, a devoted Child of God.
> The Child comes from the Lord,
> He is born in His Spirit.
>
> Guru Arjan: *Rag Asa*: p 396

After the completion of the early morning service, Guru Hargobind went and took his seat on the *Akal Takhat,* his throne of temporal authority which he had built in 1609 A.D. The very erection of *Akal Takhat* (Throne of the Almighty) was a challenge to all coercive authority of the Mughal Emperors, an assertion of supernational autonomy, and of freedom from all fear and despotic rule. Near the *Akal Takhat*[16] flew his flag of freedom. Here he received disciples, visitors, seekers of truth and the fighters for righteousness. The bards sang heroic songs; the finest heroic literature was produced and presented to the people under the inspiration of the Guru. Weapons were distributed to those who had completed their training as soldiers. Then the Guru would deliver religious discourses and philosophic sermons, which showed his profound knowledge of Indian Philosophy, Mysticism and even of Sanskrit and Prakrit languages[17].

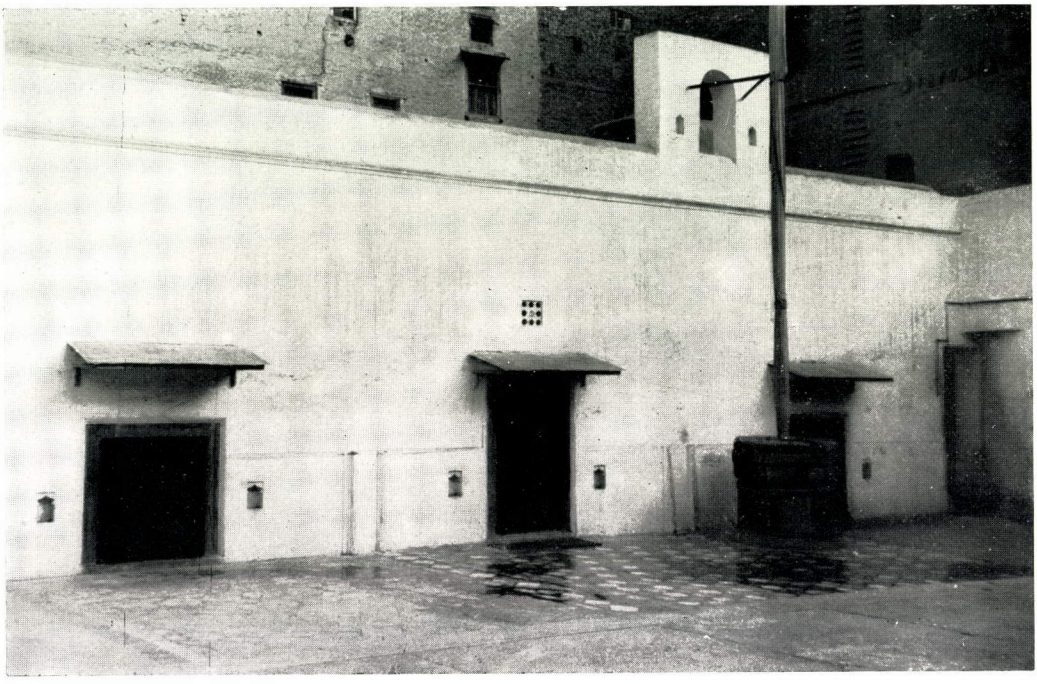
In a voice that thrilled the audience with its stirring appeal Guru Hargobind said: "To be a Sikh is to grow steadily in spiritual experience like a tree. Humility forms the root of Sikhism. Without it this faith dwindles and dies in the soul of man. Service of humanity should be deemed the branches of this tree, while charity is its shade. When one associates with holy men for enriching oneself, then the leaves and buds of Sikhism emerge from it. To understand the divine Word is to acquire the fruit of Sikhism. He truly is a Sikh, whose inward life leads to the understanding that the *Atman* (Soul) is the reality, while the material world is transient."

"Ethically and spiritually", continued the Guru, "there are four types of Sikhs. First, there are those who contemplate the Name of God and serve the saints for the fulfilment of desires. If they are sincere and keep on remembering God a time will come, when through His grace, they will learn to love God without coveting anything. Second, there are those who remember God when they face danger, suffering and affliction. When the terror of tyrannical rulers, physical pain, suffering and domestic troubles upset and demoralise some people, their pride and vanity is shaken, and they turn to righteous life and God. Even at such a time, if they devoutly worship God, their suffering is mitigated and faith awakened. Third, there are those Sikhs who deem the Lord to be Supreme Saviour, and they consider themselves to be only seekers of truth. With this motive, they contemplate and remember His Name. A time comes, when spiritual knowledge dawns on them, and they are able to realise the truth. Fourth, there are those enlightened Sikhs, *the Gurmukhs*, who perceive the presence of God in every creature, and they treat them as such. Just as the sky is seen reflected in every vessel of water, so can they see, with their inner eye, the light of God pervading all. With this attitude towards life and humanity, they live in prayer and meditation, and soon attain the transcendent state. Seek ye, disciples, the Truth and Light of God, remember Him ever and live humbly."[18] Guru Hargobind, after concluding this sermon, requested Bhai Buddha to accompany him and bless the new born Child.

There was a stir and bustle and colour in the narrow streets of Amritsar. The calls of the street sellers were echoing from the stone walls. Workers and traders, shoemakers and tailors, vendors of vegetables and fruit, were plying for custom. Heavy laden carts were driven from street to street carrying merchandise to prospective buyers. Pilgrims to the holy city moved reverently amid the din. Felicitations poured in from all sides, as Guru Hargobind rode through the cheering crowds, who greeted him with cries of *"Sat Kartar"* (the Creator is Truth). Guruji blessed them saying : *"Gur bar Akal."*[19] (the Immortal Lord is the Supreme Enlightener). When he reached *Guru ke Mahal* (the Guru's residence), his eight-year old daughter, Bibi Viro, was the first to greet him. In a large room, on the ground floor of *Guru ke Mahal,* stood the ladies



Guru Ke Mahal, Amritsar (inside view)
(The room in which Guru Tegh Bahadur was born)



Guru ke Mahal, Amritsar (outside view)

of the household, surrounding a cushioned bed, on which was lying the new-born Child with his mother, Nanaki.

Nanaki[20], the Holy Mother of peerless beauty and grace, was eager to hear what Bhai Buddha, Guru Hargobind and Bhai Gurdas had to say about the Child. She knew that their utterances would map out the destiny of the Child, and might fulfil one of her deeply cherished hopes of having a son, who would carry the umbrella of Guru Nanak's spiritual Sovereignty. Her beauty was calm as the evening star shining in faint moonlight, luminous, remote, veiled with dreams and hopes unknown to others.

Bhai Buddha, the aged High Priest of the Golden Temple, bowed to the Child and then blessed him saying: "Blessed am I that I have lived long enough to see thee, O Child of destiny. Dark clouds are gathering all over the country. Thy warrior Father's sword will make the forces of evil tremble in their shoes. Thy mighty spirit and sacrifices will shake them from the foundation. May you be brave and heroic enough to be the bearer of the cross of humanity and live and die like a true Saviour!"

Bhai Bidhi Chand was taken aback when Guru Hargobind also touched the tender feet of the Babe and bowed in reverential salutation. The child did not shrink like other children but gazed about him as though the gem of his thoughts were hidden beneath his deep shining eyes. His face was shining like pure gold after the manner of his ancestors, the Sodhis of the Solar race (*Surya Vans*). Bhai Bidhi Chand asked: "Master, why such unsual homage to this Babe?[21] Guru Hargobind said: "In him, my fifth son, I see the noble self-consecrating spirit of my father Guru Arjan Mal." Then turning to the Child he said: "Be thou like him in life and spirit. May the *Akal Purakh* (Almighty God) and the eternal Spirit of Guru Nanak bestow on thee all divine blessings. May thy sword-like spirit fight for truth and dharma unto the last. I name the child, Tegh Bahadur[22] (Hero with the sword-like Spirit). Embarking in the boat of wisdom he shall save the country from peril and strike at the root of tyranny and oppression".[23]

Then Bhai Gurdas blessed the Child saying: "As the flame of the divine draws the moth of the spirit of man to hover about it until, dazzled and drunken with radiance, it joins it-

self to the flame and is consumed into pure light, so shall many brave hearts burn themselves in the sacrificial fires of thy great soul till this land learns to breathe the air of freedom without fear and live like brothers in love and truth. Thine shall be the riches that death cannot thieve. Thine shall be the conquests and glorious deeds that time cannot triumph over. Thy life and death shall be the envy of sages and warriors." Bidhi Chand then held the Child in his arms and said: "When you grow up great Child, I will teach you how to fight and bamboozle a tyrant while you must teach me how to die like a sage." Two large tears of joy pearled themselves on the long lashes of Nanaki and split down the bloom of her cheek as she watched her little son Tegh Bahadur being blessed so reverently.[24]

Food and clothing, sweets and gifts were distributed to the poor and all who offered felicitations. Women and children sang and danced in joy.[25] They brought flowers and offerings to the Holy Mother Nanaki and when the benediction of her eyes fell on them they prostrated themselves. There was rejoicing in the city for ten days. The very name Tegh Bahadur given to the Child made the people reflect and hope that he might grow up to be the living image of his warrior-prophet father, Guru Hargobind.

Happiest in the family was Bibi Viro, who looked at her little brother with pride and love. Baba Gurditta, now 13 who was looked on—by the people as the crown-prince, and respected as the living image of Guru Nanak, because he was born on *Kartik Puranmashi* and had facial resemblance with the founder of the Sikh Faith[26], lovingly knelt down and kissed the Child's hand: "How happy we brothers are", he said, "to have one who has been blessed beyond measure and proclaimed to be a man of destiny!" Sober, quiet and gentle Suraj Mal, now about 6 years old, embraced his little brother. Four year old silent and moody Ani Rai stood speechless, scarcely able to understand the meaning and mystery of so many prophetic utterances. The chubby toddler Atal Rai now 2, bubbling with energy and activity was most happy because he felt that he had now got a younger brother who could be his real companion in all the games he was dreaming of playing.

As the Babe, Tegh Bahadur, grew in body and spirit he was brought up with the care and attention which only princes

could get. Yet he lived and grew in an atmosphere of religious discipline which matched and even surpassed in many ways the ethical, social and spiritual discipline of the ancient *ashramas* of the Rishis and Buddhist sages.

During childhood, Tegh Bahadur was aloof but always active. He was silent and meditative but very energetic and quick to learn everything his teachers taught him. He was beloved by everyone in Amritsar. When he learnt to toddle he followed his mother round the house and listened to her words of affection. He had a companionable smile sharing every moment in unspoken felicity. As he grew older, he took time to be out alone, or to sit in a secluded corner, brooding over life and nature. He would pause and look into the beauty of the vast Unknown. He would listen to the music of the divine Word (*Sabad*) which he did not yet understand but nevertheless felt enchanted by it. There was in him, from the beginning, an acute sharpness of the senses, and a fulness of mental powers. The sounds he heard, the colours he saw inspired him with ecstasy, possible only to mortals, whose soul and body are perfect enough to receive the gifts of nature. From his childhood he was tender and full of concern for the poor and suffering. He extended his sympathies to all living creatures.

Nanaki, the divine lady, saying little, went about her work of care of her little son in peace and devotion. She was strong and calm of purpose as our general mother, the earth, pure within and without as the white lotus ; and surrounding herself with great tranquillity, she floated on its surface as a water-lily, rooted in the life giving bosom of the earth, turning an adoring face to the purities of the heavens and absorbing their radiance, until her heart was pure gold and her body white as a fragrant flower. As she saw her noble Child grow in perfect health of mind, body and soul, in her ears, the voices of prophecy about his great and dramatic future made a changing music of pride and triumph.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] *Amritsar:* Guru Amar Das, the third Guru, not only conceived the plan of Amritsar (the Lake of Immortality) but also prophesied that the city would grow in importance and become a metropolis of God's glory. The prophecy is recorded in the Adi Granth:

Guru Nanak: Lahore śehar zehar kehar savā pehar.
The city of Lahore is immersed in vice and strife.

Guru Amar Das: Lahore śehar, Amritsar siftī dā ghar.
Lahore City be thus; Amritsar shall be the House of praise.

Bhai Mani Singh gives the story of the foundation of Amritsar in his *Bhagat Ratnāvalī* as follows: "tīsrī pātśāhī gurūjī prasan hoke cauthe pātśāhī gurū Rām Dās jī nū bacan hoyā:" purkhā . . . . koī tīrath ethe madar des vic karīye, jo trilokī de sabhnā tīrathāñ dā phal hovai jisde isnān karan de phal te; tāñ Gurū Ram Das jī kehyiā: garīb nivāj, jithe amar hove; tāñ ik theh pyā haisī; Gurū Amar Dās bacan kītā: ethe hī udam karo; tāñ cauthe pātśāh tāl khudāe ke tyār kītā; tāñ bacan hoyā, age pañjvīñ patśāhī paka karāvange; Amritsar nām rakhyā; te Gurujī ne ardās kītī, jī tīrath dā nām kyā rakhnā kītā hai? tāṅ bacan hoyā: Amritsar nām rakhnā, baḍā tīrath hovai gā." Guru Amar Das, the third Sovereign was pleased and said to Ram Das: O Sage, there should be constructed a great place of pilgrimage in the Punjab, which may surpass all other places of pilgrimages in the world and homage to it may be fruitful to all." Guru Ram Das humbly said: Protector of the poor, it will be done wherever thou commandest me to do so. "Pointing to a mound Guru Amar Das said: Make an effort to construct a holy lake here and sanctify it by making it a seat of perpetual worship." Guru Ram Das dug the Holy Lake and said "The fifth Guru will make it pucka." Guru Ram Das asked Guru Amar Das: "What should be the name of this place of pilgrimage? Guru Amar Das said: "Call it Amritsar. It will be a great place of pilgrimage." "*Bhagat Ratnāvalī*: Bhai Mani Singh"

Bhai Gurdas also says:

baiṭhā sodhī patśāh Rāmdas satgūrū kahāvai
pūrāṅ tāl khatāyā Amritsar vic jot jagāvai
ultā khel khasam dā ultī gaṅg samuṅdar samāvai.
Var 1, 47

Originally only the Holy Lake was called Amritsar, the city around it was called Ram Das pur. Guru Arjan even calls the Holy Lake Ram Das sar:

vasdī saghan apār anūp Ram-das-pur
harihāṅ Nānak kasmal jāhi nhāyīai Rām-dās-sar
Phunhe.

Later both the Holy lake and the City came to be known as Amritsar.

[2] *gong:* pehlā ināh de vakt pehrīañ de hisāb ute san, jo ghadyāl buṅge toṅ pehre te ghadīāṅ vajā ke dase jāṅde san.
Bhai Vir Singh's footnote to *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 5 *Aṅsū* 43

[3] *Date of Birth:* While the date of death of all the Gurus have been correctly preserved in the memoranda to innumerable old recensions of Adi Granth, there is a good deal of confusion about the birth date of all the Gurus. The following are the different dates given by different historians:
Kesar Singh Chibber: 19 Maghar, dark half of 1678 B.S.
Macauliffe: Baisakh Vadi 5, 1679 B.S.
Santokh Singh: *Sūraj Prakāsh*: Baisakh Vadi 5, 1679 B.S.
Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurukhālsā*: 19 Maghr sudī 2, 1678 B.S.
Gulab Singh: *Gurpranālī*: Maghar sudī 2, parviśtā 21, 1678 B.S.
Randhir Singh: 19 Kartik sudi 14, 1678 B.S.
Kahan Singh: "*Mahān Kosh*: Baisakh Varī 5, 1678 B.S.
Amritsarī pranālī: Baisakhī Vadī 5, 1678 B.S.
Karam Singh: Baisakh vadī 5, 1678 B.S.
Gurbilās patśahī chevīñ Baisakh vadī 5, 1678 B.S.
Sohan Singh: *Gurbilās patśāhī* chevīñ Baisakh vadī 5, 1678 B.S.

I have accepted Baisakh vadi 5, 1678 B.S. as the correct date. It is also the traditionally accepted day on which Guru Tegh Bahadur's birth date is actually celebrated. It corresponds to April 1, 1621 A.D.

[4] *Harimandir (Golden Temple)*: The word Harimandir literally means, the Temple of God. It was the name given first to what is now known as Golden Temple and subsequently to all important places of pilgrimages built by the Gurus. The temples built by the disciples in places visited by the Guru were called either *Sañgats* or *Manjīs*. Guru Arjan started building the central temple in 1589 A.D. and the foundation was laid by his friend, Mian Mir the Sufi Saint of Lahore. We find the word Harimandir used in Sikh Scriptures in theological and philosophical senses. It indicates what a temple or a Church as an institution should be: Guru Nanak considers the Presence of God as the most beautiful temple: "*prabh harmañdir sohnā*". For Guru Amar Das, the body is the temple of God: "*harimañdir eh sarīr hai.*" In Vār Rāmkalī he says: harimañdir soī ākhīai jithoh hari jatā; manmukh harimandir kī sār nā jāṅnī tinī janam gavātā.

Adi Granth p 953.

The Golden Temple was first desecrated by Massa Ranghar who turned the temple into a nautch house. This desecration was avenged by Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh in 1740 A.D. The temple was then blown up by Ahmed Shah Durrani in 1762 A.D. A flying brick struck the Emperor's nose and inflicted an incurable wound: (*Tarikhe Sultānī* p 132, Khushwaqt Rai p 61). It was rebuilt in its present artistic form by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and came to be known as the Golden Temple. As predicted by Guru

Amar Das it has become a universal place of pilgrimage. Many European artists, scholars, and statesmen have paid glowing tribute to it. Prof. Toynbee in his book East to West calls it the most sanctified temple in the East where one can feel and see the spiritual atmosphere all the time.

[5] *Bhai Buddha* became the disciple of Guru Nanak at the age of ten. During childhood he saw the Mughals forcibly destroying his father's crops in which they did not spare even the unripe crops. No one can withhold the hand of a tyrant, who then can withhold the hand of mighty death, thought the child. The transience of life haunted him. Guru Nanak was deeply moved by the child's wisdom and gave him spiritual enlightenment. He considered him to be one of his Chosen Apostles and appointed him Master of Ceremony over the coronation of his successor. Bhai Buddha had the unique privilege of crowning the first six Gurus in succession. All the Gurus respected him as their Teacher, Guardian Angel and god-father. They never commanded him to do anything and they never refused any of his requests. His word was considered law. His utterances were deemed prophetic.

[6] *drum:* When Guru Hargobind assumed political and spiritual sovereignty he introduced the beating of the drum "which was an attribute of sovereignty. The kettle drums were beaten at the head of the army when the emperor was on the march ; and in quarters they were beaten every three hours at the gate of the camp." *The Army of the Indian Moghals*" by William Irvine : p 30.

[7] The sixth Mahal is Siri Guru Hargobind the son of Guru Arjan Mull. He experienced many hardships. One of these is that he adopted the ways of a soldier and wore sword and kept followers and took to hunting.

Dabistan-i-Mazahib

[8] *Physique of Guru Hargobind:* "Guru Hargobind Sahib bulaṅd kad, ati suṅder, cauḍī chātī, hāthī suṅd vāṅg lambīāṅ bāhāṅ, mathā kaṅdhe, dand, päb uce ; kanak raṅg, harn netar ; bahut baḍe sūrbīr ruhānī jismānī dohāṅ bātāṅ vic balī, udār, sace te mith bole, hasmukh sreśt gunā saṅyukt ; rājnītī dharm de pūre gyāta se.

Gyani Gyan Singh, *Tawārīkh Gurūkhālsā.* P 249

[9] *mīrī and pīrī:* The concept of *mīrī and piri* (political and spiritual sovereignty) was first framed by Guru Arjan. He trained Guru Hargobind in the philosophy of this dual responsibility which is clear from the following historical record :

"Bhai Sigārū te Jaitā haisan baḍe sūrbīr te paropkārī ; sāhib chīvīṅ pātśāhī de pās Sāhib ne sauṅpe ; bacan hoyā :" asāṅ jo śastar pakḍne han so Gurū Hargobind dā rūp dhār ker pakḍne han ; sämāṅ kalyug dā vartnā hai ; śastrān dī vidyā kar Mīr dī mīrī khic lainī hai te śabad dī prīt kar Pīr dī pīrī lai lainī hai. tusāṅ Hargobind pās

rehnā." Bhai Sigaru and Bhai Jaitā were great warriors and philanthrophists. They were asked to live in the service of Guru Hargobind. Guru Arjan said to them: "The House of the Guru will take up arms under Hargobind. The dark age prevails. After learning the use of weapons the Sikhs will wrest political power from the Rulers and through the love of Divine Word (Śabad) they will acquire the spiritual wisdom of Divine Teachers. Abide with Hargobind."

Bhai Mani Singh: *Bhagat Ratnāvlī.*

[10] *Bhai Bidhi Chand* was a peasant of the village Sursingh in Lahore district. He was grandson of Bhai Bhiki and son of Bhai Vasan. During his early life he became the Robin Hood of Majha forests and robbed the rich and helped the poor. He came into contact with Bhai Adli a devout disciple of Guru Arjan and experienced a sudden change in his outlook. He became the disciple of Guru Arjan and was one of the five Sikhs who performed the last rites of Guru Arjan after his death by martyrdom. He acquired spiritual perfection and fought valiantly in all the battles of Guru Hargobind. It is most probably Bidhi Chand to whom Mohsan Fani in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* refers to him as Bhai Bidhata.

[11] *Babak* was the rebeck player of Guru Hargobind. Guru Hargobind even gave him military training and he fought valiantly in a number of battles of the Guru. The word 'Babak' means faithful. He probably belonged to either Mardana's family or was a descendant of Satta and Balwand.

gāe rabābī āsāvār
satnām simrin jaikār,
baithe satgur lāe dīwān,
āvai sikh anik lai gyān.

Sūraj Prākash Rās 5 Aňsū 54

Bābak kīrtan kare suňder lage dīvan

Gurbilās Pāt: VI

gāe rabābī Bābak rāg,
gur jut sikh suneh kar rāg.

Sūraj Prākash Rās 5 Aňsū 40

[12] *Abdulla* was another prominent poet-bard of Guru Hargobind who sometime joined Babak in performing Kīrtan at the Harimandir and sometime sang heroic songs along with Bard Natha at the Akal Takhat.

Sirī Gurū takhat birāje prabhu dhyāe ke
Mir Abdul aur Nathā jas kahe banāe ke.

Gurbilās Pāt: VI

dhādhī Abdul līo hakār
eh bidh tan ko bacan sunāe
sunāvo vār adhik man lāe

ibid.

[13] *Āsā kī Vār*: Guru Nanak's composition in the Āsā Musical mode was always sung in the Golden Temple between 4 A.M. and 6 A.M. It continues to be sung even to day in almost all the Holy shrines of Sikhs.

gāe rabābī asāvār
satnām simrin jaikār,
baiṭhe satgur lae diwan
avai sikh anik lai gyan

Sūraj Prākash, Rās 5 Aňsū 54

[14] *Fifth son:* Tegh Bahadur was the fifth son of Guru Hargobind. Four others were—Baba Gurditta, Baba Suraj Mal, Baba Ani Rae, Baba Atal. Bibi Viro who was then only six years old was his only daughter.

[15] *This Song* was composed by Guru Arjan to be sung at the birth of Guru Hargobind. It was usually sung at the birth of children in the Guru's Household and is now sung at the birth ceremony of Sikh children.

[16] *Akāl Takhat:* To sit on a raised platform and give audience was the prerogative of the Emperors only. Aurangzeb severely punished Prince Muazzam for building a platform two feet high to hold court. Guru Hargobind after assuming political sovereignty almost challenged Mughal authority by constructing a raised platform about 12 feet high. He did this at the young age of 14.

pritham nīv seī gur rākhī abcal takhat suhāe,
kisī rāj neh hāth lagāyo
Buddha au Gurdās banāyo.

Guru Hargobind laid the foundation stone of the Akal Takhat (the Throne of the Almighty) and did not allow any mason to construct it. The whole structure was built by Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Buddha.

Gurbilās Pāt : VI

Sant rūp hoe mai rahoň Harimandir ke mah
rajo rūp ehthā rahoň Akāl Takhat sukh pāe.
(The Harimandir shall be the seat of my spirituality, the Akāl Takhat shall be the seat of my political sovereignty).

Ibid.

[17] The sermons of Guru Hargobind to his disciples recorded by Bhai Mani Singh, Kavi Santokh Singh and writers of Gurbilāses show his knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Punjabi literature to be deep and profound. His discussions range from Rhetoric to Yoga Bhakti and language problems.

[18] These sermons to his disciples have been recorded by Bhai Mani Singh in his *Bhagat Ratnāvlī* and by Kavi Santokh Singh in *Sūraj Prakāsh.*

[19] *Gurbar akāl* was a greeting coined by Guru Nanak. We find it mentioned in Bhai Mani Singh's *Janam Sakhi.* Guru

Hargobind used it for "satgurprasād" in his Hukamnāmās and for Sat Sirī Akāl in his return greeting.

[20] *Nānakī* was the daughter of Hari Chand a well-to-do Kshatriya of Bakala. Her mother's name was Hardei. She was known for her beauty, piety and manifold accomplishments.

[21] tab gur sīs ko bandan kīnī ati hit lāe,
Bidhīa kahe kās binat kī, kaho moh sut bhāe.
Gurbilās Pāt: VI

[22] *Name*: *Tegh Bahādur or Tyāg Mal*: Tegh Bahadur (meaning the Heroic weilder of the sword) is the generally accepted name of the Guru. But the name Tyag Mal (one who renounces) also appears to have been quite popular. It is found in the memoranda given at the end of old recensions of Adi Granth. Its popularity can be judged from the fact that even in some Mughal reports we find Tyag Mal instead of Tegh Bahadur:

"Guru Tyag Mal kāim mukām Guru Nānak dar Assam hamrāh Maharaja Ram Singh jīo bud . . ."

Tyag Mal appears to have been an attributed name which he acquired because of his love of solitude and renunciation. One writer suggests that Tyag Mal was his original name and he was given the name Tegh Bahadur when he fought valiantly in the battle of Kartarpur at the young age of 14. However ingenious the suggestion is, I have not found any historical proof for this contention. Guru Gobind Singh, Bhai Mani Singh, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Sukha Singh, Kavi Santokh Singh all clearly state his name to be Tegh Bahadur;

(i) Hari Kishen tin ke sut bhae,
Tin te Tegh Bahadur bhae.
Guru Gobind Singh

(ii) Guru Tegh Bahadur simrīai ghar nau nidh āvai dhāe
Guru Gobind Singh: ardāsā.

(iii) Guru Tegh Bahadur āṅ sarā pā afzal,
Zīnat arāe mehfal jāho jalāl.
Bhai Nand Lal *Gañjnāmā.*

(iv) Guru Tegh Bahadur jī jagat gurū haiṅ; unāh nū apnā dīn manāvo ge tāṅ sabhe Hindu tusāde kābū hovan ge.
Bhai Mani Singh. *Bhagat Ratnāvalī*

(v) Tegh Bahadur nām su gāyo
tāh nām srī mukh alāyo
Gurbilās Pāt: VI

(vi) sut bahādurī tegh kare hai,
śatru brind ko jang khape hai
yāte Tegh Bahadur nām
dharyo bicār guru abhirām.
Santokh Singh. *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 5, *Aňsū* 64

Kavi Sainapat in *Gur Sobha Granth* and Bhai Gurdas II in his *Var* also give the name Tegh Bahadur.

23 dīn rach saṅkat harai sadā yahī pehcān.
Gurbilās Pāt : VI

24 sunat māt sabh hī harkhānī
nām kehio gur pulkat bānī
ibid.

25 bhaī bhor jeh keh sudh hoī,
guru badhāī de sabh koī,
bahu Maṅgal ke bādat bāje,
baṅdan vāre dvāran sāje
mangat jan ko dhan gan dīno,
nagar anaṅd nar nār kīno.
Sūraj Prākash Rās 5 Aṅsū 63

mil mil trīyā purī kī āvai
det badhāi maṅgal gāvai
bhayo bhor dhar maṅgal vāre
dio dān tāhī vār na pāre.
Gurbilās Pāt : VI

26 kitak lok im karat ucār
Nānak ko eh avtar.
Sūraj Prākash Rās 5 Aṅsū 37

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND BAPTISM

AFTER sowing the seeds of his faith all over India, and in the neighbouring countries like Ceylon, Tibet, and the Middle East, Guru Nanak devoted the last fifteen years of his life to building and evolving social and cultural institutions necessary to perpetuate his philosophy and way of life. He had defied all the social laws of Manu which formed the cornerstone of Hinduism and had turned his back on the four-fold Hindu Order of society. He minted a new ideological coin and set on it the seal of his New Faith[1] which began to be called the Sikh Panth, the Nirmal Panth or the Highway to Truth.[2]

So Guru Nanak started building new institutions, such as a Church without priestcraft which he named *Sangat*[3], a community kitchen open to men of all castes and creeds known to this day as *langar,* a *Banipothi*[4] (Scripture) containing his hymns and the compositions of those Hindu and Muslim thinkers like Jaidev, Kabir and Shaikh Farid who acquired the highest wisdom in the love of God.

Sermons alone were not sufficient to remould the rotting social order in India. People had to be inspired and educated in a new integrated spiritual outlook based on enlightenment, love of freedom, charity and brotherhood. Commenting on the sad moral plight of the country Guru Nanak says: "Without knowledge people are blind and easily misled." "In this age of darkness men have become dogs and they bark out lies. Giving no thought to righteousness they have no honour in life." "Kings are butchers and humanity bleeds under their cruel knife."[5]

To give a practical shape to his ideals Guru Nanak started building a unique Educational Centre at Kartarpur which was to grow according to the needs of the changing times, under the direct personal guidance of his successors. Philosophers, mystics, musicians, linguists, yogis and thinkers of various schools of thought flocked to this new seat of learning and spirituality to study the New Faith, and its philosophy.[6] Illuminating discussions and spiritual encounters took place

between the Guru and his learned Apostles on one side and the seekers of truth on the other side. Guru Nanak recorded such discourses and hymns.[7]

The Sikh School of thought was thus nurtured in well organised and disciplined educational centres of the Gurus. Like Benaras, Taxila, Vidarba, Ajanta and Nalanda the Sikh seats of learning flourished at Kartarpur under Guru Nanak, at Khadur under Guru Angad, at Goindwal under Guru Amar Das, at Amritsar under Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan, and Guru Hargobind. It remained for nearly two centuries a leading Academy of creative studies, secular and religious training, and a forum for comparative study of religions, aiming at harmonizing the various faiths.

There were at that time two types of schools and colleges: the Hindu *Pathshala* and the Muslim *Maktab*.[8] To study both Hindu and Muslim thought, Guru Nanak had to study in both these schools.[9] From experience he found that each of these schools had some special qualities, but each lacked something which he considered was essential for a healthy synthesis and integration of apparently divergent cultures and ideologies, and necessary to establish unity in diversity and harmony in discord.

The *Pathshala* run by the Hindu priest was open at first only to Brahmins and then it spread its privileges to the Kshatriyas also. The lower castes were always excluded. The *maktabs* taught Persian, Arabic, the Koran and Islamic theology. They were open to all who wished to study these things, but they did not teach any Indian language nor did they impart any knowledge in Indian history. The ordinary Muslim took little interest in studies.[10]

Guru Nanak introduced intensive study of the mother tongue. With the help of his disciple, Angad, he gave to Punjabi language, a new script known as *Gurmukhi* (the Guru's Word), so called because the Script was based on Guru Nanak's Acrostic, the *Patti* (the Guru's Word).[11] When Guru Arjan planned the compilation of *Adi Granth*, he asked Apostle Bhai Gurdas to simplify *Gurmukhi* Script.[12] While the old style of *Gurmukhi* continued to be used by the Gurus in their *Hukamnamas* (farmans and letters), the simplified style, coined by Bhai Gurdas, became popular and is still in use.[13]

In India, musicians and singers belonged to the lowest castes and because of the ill treatment meted out to them in Hindu society most of them became Muslims. Guru Nanak not only gave these low caste singers the highest place in the temple but the study of Indian *ragas* was made an important subject in the curriculum of his Educational Centre. Guru Nanak introduced a special type of *rabab*[14], while Guru Amar Das introduced a new musical instrument called the *Saranda.*[15] By the time of Guru Ram Das there was excellent arrangement for the study of languages like Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic, Braj Bhasha, Avdhi. There was arrangement for the study of all Hindu and Muslim philosophic systems. Guru Arjan and Bhai Gurdas were the first in the Guru's Household to acquire complete education and training in the Sikh College of Studies organised by the Gurus. Their writings, scholarship and creative achievement reveal that India has yet to produce mystics, poets, and philosophers, who can surpass these luminaries in philosophic depth, poetic excellence and vast comparative study of religions.

Arts and crafts, professions and manual works, which in Hindu society were classed with those of robbers, thieves and prostitutes[16] were given the highest respect and made inspirational for truly virtuous and spiritual life. Guru Nanak made social activity and manual labour the key to highest wisdom and spiritual exaltation. He selected Angad as his successor not only because he had achieved the highest spiritual wisdom but also because he could perform the humblest duty and submit to the most strenuous labour in the service of humanity. The dignity of labour of all humble professions was restored and a cobbler was treated with equal respect as a Brahmin and could mix and eat with those of higher caste.

Foreseeing the difficult times that were ahead, Guru Arjan introduced military training.[17] He not only gave military training to Hargobind and other boys of his age, but employed highly accomplished and skilled warriors[18] to build the nucleus of Hargobind's army. History has preserved the names of Bhai Kalyan Sud[19], Bhai Bidhi Chand, Bhai Adit Soini[20], Bhai Partapu[21], Bhai Jaita[22], Bhai Piraga[23], Bhai Bhanu[24] and a host of other warriors. Many skilled Sikh soldiers who were already serving the Imperial army were asked to give up the service of the Mughals and join Guru Hargobind whose

intensive military training had already been organised by Guru Arjan. Prominent amongst those who gave up the service of the Mughal Army and lived with Guru Hargobind were Bhai Tiloka[25] and Bhai Sigaru.[26]

By the time Baba Tegh Bahadur was born the study of History, Philosophy, Theology, Classical Languages and Military training were made compulsory subjects in the Guru's educational institution. According to their individual tastes some of the children of the Guru's household drifted to those branches of religious studies which were imparted to remove ignorance about them, though these schools of thought were not otherwise held in very high esteem as ways of life. Among those who thus drifted from the high synthetic ideals of Sikhism were Sri Chand[27], who became an ascetic ; Datu, Guru Angad's son tried to specialise in *Sidhasnas*[28] ; Mohan, Guru Amar Das's son became a self-intoxicated recluse[29] ; Prithimal and his son Meharban[30] started a parallel Guruship by trying to please the Muslim authorities and the reactionary Hindus by corrupting Sikh history and scriptures. Meharban made Guru Nanak, Janak, reborn in this age, and distorted his biography by introducing all the legends he could possibly gather from the *Puranas*. He even wrote a *Sukhmani* to rival that of Guru Arjan, and it is full of *Puranic* praise of Rama and Krishna and other Hindu avatars.[31] Thus those who studied in the Guru's Institutions had full freedom to develop their thoughts according to their special aptitude.

The whole training and educational system of the Gurus was based on one central thought in Sikh philosophy, that man is the living bond between the two worlds. He is immersed in flesh but constituted by the spirit. He is occupied with matter but is drawn towards God. He grows in time but is already breathing the air of eternity. Though he is a being of nature and of the world he transcends the universe and has unlimited capacity for union with God. The body being the soul's means of action must be healthy, courageous and strong enough to keep the soul free from fear, oppression and exploitation. The Guru's Academy was technically a fraternity, a *thiasos* in which progressive Hindus and Muslims came to acquire knowledge, without having to change their creed.

It was in such an educational institution having a century of progressive history that Baba Tegh Bahadur had the good

fortune to be educated and trained as a scholar, poet, musician, mystic and revolutionary soldier.

Baba Tegh Bahadur was 4½ years old when he was sent to school.[32] As was the custom he was given a slate of wood sprinkled with dust and emery and a persian pen (*kalam*). After an Invocational prayer seeking the blessings of God, Guru Hargobind personally took him to Bhai Buddha, the wisest among living teachers and said: "You were kind enough to be my teacher, O Enlightened One, accept Tegh Bahadur as your pupil." Tegh Bahadur bowed before the sage who blessed him and accepted him as his student. Hindu children according to *Upanayana* (a formal ceremony to introduce children to regular education) were asked to recite the *gayatri*.[33] Sikh children were asked to recite the *Mul mantra*[34], the aim of which was to invoke the One Supreme all prevading spirit, and seek light and grace from its contemplation. Tegh Bahadur repeated after Buddha the Holy text. Then the sage wrote the *Gurmukhi* letters (script of the Punjabi language) on the wooden slate. Thereafter one teacher after another took up the education and training of Baba Tegh Bahadur under the supervision and direction of Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas. He studied Languages, History, Arithmetic. At a little maturer age he was taught Metaphysics, Logic, Theology, Six Systems, and classics like the Bhagvata, Gita, Mahabharata, Ramayana. Elementary Islamic philosophy, Koranic lore, Sufi texts were also taught.

Military training having been made compulsory for his children by Guru Hargobind, Baba Tegh Bahadur learnt step by step the use of all the weapons. Special weapons of smaller size were made for teaching children. Training in the use of bow and arrows started early and children enjoyed it and learnt it more easily. The use of the sword and daggers of various types was the most difficult art and required years of training. Everyone had to learn to fight with *shamsher* (modern *kirpan*), the *asa* (a straight sword with a broad blade and cross hilt, considered an emblem of sovereignty and high dignity), *khanda* (a double edged sword), *sirohi* (a Damascus Sword), and the *mace* (*gurz* or *gadha*). The use of battle axe, spears (*nezas, barcha, sang, sainthi*) and daggers (*katar, jamdhar, khanjar, peshkabz*) was taught alongside the use of other weapons[35].

Matchlock (*tufang*) a weapon improved by Akbar, was taught on blank cartridges.

Horsemanship was an art which had to be learnt with patience and care. Baba Tegh Bahadur was taught not only horsemanship but even the science of looking after horses.[36] As soon as he became an expert rider he joined the hunting sports of his father, which were undertaken mainly to give practical training in fighting and army monoeuvres.[37]

Baba Tegh Bahadur took special interest in music, and poetry. Music had been given a very high status in Sikh culture, temples and homes. It was loved by the Muslims and Hindus equally but the art was studied by low class people only.[38] Music was considered more important for the beauty of Sikh temples and of homes than marble and stone. Out of the thirty *Ragas* generally taught, Baba Tegh Bahadur showed special liking for the following: *Gaudi, Asa, Devgandhari, Bihagda, Sorath, Dhanasri, Jaitsiri, Todi, Tilang, Bilawal, Ramkali, Maru, Basant,* and *Sarang.* He was keenly attracted by *Raga Jaijaiwanti*[39], which had not been introduced into the Adi Granth as yet. The pathos and meditative tenderness of this *Raga* deeply affected his sensitive soul. Baba Tegh Bahadur made music one of the chief sources of divine inspiration.

After three years of education came the most important event in the life of Baba Tegh Bahadur. He was now ready for baptism of the *Charan Pahul* (the lotus feet of the Guru). The ceremony originally introduced by Guru Nanak distinguished the initiated ones from the uninitiated disciples. The initiated ones were known as *Gursikhs* or *Gurmukhs* while the uninitiated ones were known as *Namdhrik Sikhs*, later on called *Sahajdharis.* Without this baptism one could not know the mystery of the Guru's inner life and philosophy. It was not a mere formal initiation into the faith, accompanied by vows and commandments, but it was the baptism of the spirit into the light and the Word of God.[40] It was a revelation of His presence and the dawn of knowledge which removes all ignorance and doubt.

For Baba Tegh Bahadur, the baptism of the *Charan Pahul*[41] was a spiritual rebirth. It established a new relation between him and his father, that of the Guru and the disciple. It unveiled to him the mystery of inner life. He now clearly

saw the royal road of his quest, normal as any human life, yet sharper than a sword's edge and narrower than a hair's breadth. Baptism revealed to him that human self is capable of an immeasurable transformation and enlargement. Now he felt that through a deeper life within him he could transcend the normal limits of his nature, attain supreme exaltation, enter *Nirvana* and oneness with the eternal spirit of Guru Nanak and God. Though the path was difficult and arduous, he took a vow to march ahead to it with all the perseverence and determination of a prophet in search for light. He was about seven or eight years old[42]. The baptism and initiation into the mystery of the divine Word revealed to him, with intense realism, the first hand relation of the soul to God. For the first time he felt within him the blazing light of God ready to be revealed to the earnest seeker in its full splendour and glory. God was within. All search outside one's own self was futile. He now understood the central philosophy of Sikh Faith. His prayers and meditations now became hallowed and penetrated by a sense of immanence and transcendence of God. His study of Scriptures became more significant. The goal of his life was now clear. His intense search and inspired quest became more and more marked in his daily life and actions. He held within his heart the treasure of divine Wisdom and the wondrous knowledge, that is peace. The Wisdom of Guru Nanak rose within him like a wind of fire and burnt away all dross and alloy. He, for the first time, perceived the Love, in which all life is one.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] mārya sikā jagat vic, Nānak *Nirmal Paňth* calāyā.
Bhai Gurdas: *Vār* 1, p 45

[2] satgur sacā pātśāh *gurmukh gādī rāh* calāyā.
ibid Vār 5, p 13
pūre pūrā piram ras, pūrā *Gurmukh Paňth* calāyā

[3] All the historical Sikh temples built at Benaras, Patna, Calcutta, Dacca to commemorate the visit of Guru Nānak and Guru Tegh Bahādur to these places are still known as *Saňgat.*

[4] Each of the first four Gurus had his own compositions and those of other supremely enlightened saints compiled during his life time and the work was known as *Bani pothi* (Book of Hymns). As soon as a successor was selected he was given this pothī along with a rosary. According *Purātan Janam*

Sakhī. Guru Nanak gave Pothī Māla (Book and Rosary) to Guru Angad as articles of Spiritual Regalia when he appointed him as his successor.

[5] Ādi Graṅth: Guru Nānak, *Rāg Sāraṅg*, p 1242 *Mājh kī Vār*, p 145.

[6] sanyāsī, brahmcārī, grehstī
tapī, bairāgī, ban je prastī;
jogi bohu baiśno joū,
Hindū, Musalmān sabh koū,
āe je saṅse koū karhī,
tat chin utar prabhu ucarhī.

Santokh Singh: *Nānak Prakāsh:* Ut: adh: 30

[7] bānī mukhon ucārīai hoe rusnāī mite andhyārā,
gyān gośt carcā sadā anhad sabad uthāi dhunkārā.

Bhai Gurdas: *Var* 1, p 38

aṭh pehar gyān gośt carcā hundā rahe.

Bhai Mani Singh: *Janamsākhī*

[8] *Pāṭhshālās* and *Maktabs* were the primary institutions which a beginner attended. He would receive his first lession there in the alphabet from a *pundit* or *maulvī*. Maktabs were a common sight during the Mughal period.

P. N. Chopra: Some Aspects of Society and Culture During Mughal Period. p 130

[9] *Guru Nanak's Education:* Guru Nanak acquired elementary education from Pundit Gopal at the age of 5. He studied Sanskrit under Brij Nath at the age of 8. He studied Persian and Arabic under Kutab Din at the age of 10. For details see: Guru Nanak: *Founder of Sikhism*, by Trilochan Singh.

[10] So far as the common Mohammedan was concerned the fact remains that he was reluctant to attend to his studies and preferred to be trained in the art of warfare and to be enlisted in the Imperial army where he could hope for a bright future.

P. N. Chopra ibid

[11] *Origin of Gurmukhī Script:* On the margin of page 215 of One of the Original *Bānī Pothīs* (mentioned in f.n. 4 above), now lying at Patiala, the following historical fact is recorded: Guru Angad gurmukhī akhar banāe Babe de age śabad bhet kītā. Guru Angad coined the Gurmukhi letters and made offering of this literary creation to Baba Nanak.

satgur Nānak jī kehio sun satpurkh matsār,
gurmukh paṅth har ko raco gurmat maṅtar ucār,
satbacan satgur mat dhārā,
tab Gurmukh akhar likhe sucārā,
Gurmukh vacan likh pothī karā,
Jai Gurmukh paṅth jag karā.

Mehmā Prakāsh.

Guru Nanak asked Angad to prepare Gurmukhī letters for the use of Sikh Scriptures, the foundation of Sikh Paṅth.

In obedience to this command Angad coined the Gurmukhi letters and wrote the Sikh Scriptures in this script.

Mehmā Prakāsh, p 207.

[12] *Simplified modern Gurmukhi Script:* tāṅ bacan hoyā: Bhai Gurdas, hun tāṅ bāṅīāṅ nū Sikh jaṅde han, te age jo hovan ge so pachānan ge nahī, jo guru kī bānī kaun hai, tāṅ te sabh bānīaṅ ikaṭhīāṅ karke Graṅth dī bīḍ kice, *te akhar bhī gurmukhī sugam kīcai*; sabh kise de vācan vic sugam āvan.

Guru Arjan said: Bhai Gurdas, now the Sikhs can distinguish the hymns of the Gurus from the imitation hymns of rivals and false prophets; in future they may find it difficult to do so. So please collect all the original copies of the scriptures for compiling the Granth Sahib. Also simplify the Gurmukhi script in such a way that every one may be able to read it easily.

Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl.*

[13] The photostat copies of the Hukamnāmās of Guru Tegh Bahādur give the original script coined by Guru Angad, though each Guru developed his own artistic caligraphic style of writing. Guru Tegh Bahādur's and Guru Gobind Singh's caligraphic style is the most artistic one. While Guru Tegh Bahādur wrote the letters in his own hand in old Gurmukhī style, Guru Gobind Singh put his symbolic style and the essential command briefly in one or two sentences and the detailed letter was written by some scribe in modern Gurmukhi Script coined by Bhai Gurdas. By the time of Guru Tegh Bahādur both the styles of scripts were prevalent. But it will be noticed from nearly forty letters which I have collected that Guru Tegh Bahādur exclusively used classical form in an inimitable style of his own. Its fluency, flow and beauty are impressive and he appears to have developed it in his early years of education at Amritsar.

[14] *rabāb* (rebeck) Bhai Vir Singh in his Guru Nānak Chamatkar p: writes: Mardana rabāb vajāyā kardā sī. rabāb ik arbī sāz hai. Gurujī ne rabāb kuch apnī tarz dā banāyā te Firaṅde nū navāṅ banaun dī āgyā ditī sī. eh Guru Nanak kadh dā navāṅ rabāb Mardane ne nāl lītā sī. Bebe jī ne Firaṅde nū is dā mul tārya sī. Guru Nanak Dev vāle rabāb dā namūnā vajaīe Rāmpur ryāst vic aje bhī sunide han. eh che tārā hundā hai ate sarod vāṅg vajdā. Kanūne Iśrat nāme kitāb vic isdā patā ditā hai. Mardana used to play the rabab (rebeck). Guru Nanak invented a new type of rabāb and had made according to his design by Firaṅdā, the cost of which was paid by his sister Bibi Nanakī. This type of rabāb is still used by musicians in Rampur State. It is described in detail in the book *Kanune Ishrat.*

Bhai Vir Singh: *Guru Nānak Chamatkār* f.n. p 107

[15] *Saraṅdā:* The Musical Treatise "Kanūne Mausīqī" states that the Musical Instrument *Saraṅdā* was invented by Guru Amar

Das. According to Bhai Kahan Singh it was invented by Guru Arjan. (*Mahāñ Kosh*)

[16] "It is with pain that the historians of the Hindus find in this passage all mechanical arts trades and industries classed with prostitution and crime. For the list includes misers, men in fetters, thieves, eunuchs, actors, workers, men in leather, men who are cursed, vardushis, prostitutes, physicians, diseased men, ill tempered men, faithless women, drunkards, ... outcasts, vrtyas, impure eaters, goldsmiths, henpecked husbands. How many honest trades do we find in this list of despised professions. . . . . The results were disastrous so far as the arts were concerned. Genius was impossible except among priests and Kings. Men held in perpetual moral servitude and bondage never learnt to aspire after greatness and glory. Men to whom honour was impossible never learnt to deserve honour and distinction.

R. C. Dutt : Civilization in Ancient India Vol : III p 318 and p 146 f.n.

In Hindu History and Hindu economy dignity of labour was never recognised. Even in Gita, Krishna classes women and Sudras together though he assures that even they can find refuge in him.

Prof : A. R. Wadia : *Philosophy of Radhakrishnan* ed : by P. A. Schilpp p 773.

[17] I do not agree with those historians who assert that it is Guru Hargobind who started giving military training to the Sikhs and that Guru Hargobind maintained an army on his own initiative and not under the instruction of his father Guru Arjan. There is abundant historical evidence to show (see footnotes below) that all the eminent warriors who commanded and distinguished themselves in Guru Hargobind's battles against the unprovoked attacks of the Imperialists, were the disciples of Guru Arjan who had employed them not only to train Hargobind but also to form the nucleus of his army. There was no need to raise a full fledged army during Akbar's reign. Foreseeing treacherous and dangerous times ahead, Guru Arjan started engaging warriors who later became the bulwark of Guru Hargobind's army. The most prominent figure in all the battles is Bhai Bidhi Chand, a disciple of Guru Arjan.

Adlī mil corī chad dīnī,
Guru Arjan kī sikhiā līnī,

Gurbilas Pāt : VI

[18] Some warriors employed in the Mughal army came to Guru Arjan for enlightenment. Guru Arjan asked them to give up the service of the Mughal army and live with Hargobind as his soldier. Guru Hargobind was only 11 at the death of Guru Arjan. Earlier when these disciples came to Guru Arjan he must be still younger. There were some disciples

like Bhai Tiloka who were already serving the army even after entering the path of Sikhism. They were asked to resign and come to Amritsar to help Hargobind to militarise the Sikhs.

[19] Sūd Kalyāña sūrmā: Bhai Gurdas Var 11, p 25
Bhai Kalyān Sūd baḍā sūrmā haisī: Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅdī Bhagatmal.*

[20] *Aditī Soinī:* Aditī Soinī surmā Guru Arjan Dev ji dī saran ayā jo asīn śastar baṅḍhde hāṅ te judh karde hāṅ; asāḍā udhār kioṅ kar hovegā? tān bacan hoyā tusān judh de sameṅ dhyān maharāj kā karnā; te dharm dā judh karnā; jo garibāñ nū rinjhāṅe us nāl judh karnā.

Aditi Soini said "We are soldiers and live by fighting. How can we be saved." Guru Arjan said: "When fighting think of God. Fight only the battles of righteousness to protect the weak and the oppressed. Fight against the tyrants, who torture poor and helpless people."

Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl.*

[21] *Bhai Pratāpū:* Bhai Pratapū vaḍā sūrmā haisī; us ardās kītī jo asādi brit tāṅ sastrāṅ de calāvan dī hai, asādā udhār kiven hove; Gurujī ne utār ditā: surme nū cahīda hai jo dharam da judh kare te jo kuch pās hovaiso dān kare.

Bhai Partapu was a brave warrior who said to Guru Arjan: "I am a soldier and fighting is my profession. We soldiers think of nothing else. How can I be liberated?" Guru Arjan replied: Fight only the battles of righteousness; Out of whatever you earn give in charity to the poor.

Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl.*

The above two quotations give Guru Arjan's philosophy of war and sword. For the sake of defending the weak, the poor, the oppressed, a soldier must fight. While fighting he must think of God. He must practise charity.

[22] *Bhai Jaitā and Bhai Sigārū:* Bhai Sigārū te Bhai Jaitā haisan baḍe surbir; Sahib chevīn patsāhī de pās Guru Sahīb ne sauṅpe; bacan hoyā asīn jo śastar pakḍne hain so Hargobind dā rūp dhār ke pakḍne han; śastrāṅ dī vidyā kar mīr di mirī khich lainī hai te śabad dī prīt kar pīrī khic laini hai. tusīñ chevīn patsāhī de hazur rehna; ik rājyan dā lun khāṅdā hai us nū apnā sarīr soñpdā hai; te tusānū sāth hī mukt sath jugt; jiwan mukt nu prāpat hovoge.

For translation see Chapter 1 f.n. 9 the last two lines not translated there are: There are soldiers who sacrifice their life for the king for mere bread. Here in the House of the Guru you will find *mukti* (spiritual enlightenment) and *jugti* (the art of living in society). Thus you will be Jiwan-Mukta, (Liberated while, living a human life).

This quotations again clearly indicated that the ideal of saint soldier had its origin during the life time of Guru

Arjan and he had started employing eminent warriors for the future army of Hargobind.

[23] *Bhai Pirāgā* purkh Pirāgā śabad adhārā : Bhai Gurdas Vār 11, p 28.

zilā Jehlam de kandyālā piṅd da vasnīk, chibar brahman jo Mahatma Gotam da putar si, jis ne gursikhī dhāran karke apna jīvan horna lai namūna banāyā. Bhai Pirāga Guru Hargobind de dharam judh vic śarīk hoyā.

Bhai Piraga was son of Mahatma Gotam, a Brahmin Saint of Kandyala Jehlam. He became a Sikh of Guru Arjan and became a perfect and examplary Saint. He fought in the battles of Guru Hagobind.

Bhai Kahan Singh : *Mahan Kosh.*

[24] *Bhai Bhānū :* There were about three prominent Sikhs of this name. One of them was a great warrior. He belonged to Rajmahal (Bengal). He died in the battle of Amritsar after killing Shams Khan.

[25] *Bhai Tilokā* sūhaḍ Tilokā sūrmā : Bhai Gurdas Vār 11, 18

Tilokā jāt dā sūhaḍ te surmā haisi.

Bhai Mani Singh : *Sikhāṅdī Bhagatmāl.*

Bhai Tiloka was earlier employed in the Afghan Army at Ghazni and later joined Guru Hargobind. He fought in the battle of Amritsar.

[26] *Bhai Sigārū* "Guru Arjan Dev dā sikh jo chīveṅ satguru dī sevā vie reh ke dharm judh kardā rehiā.

Bhai Kahan Singh : *Mahān Kosh.*

[27] bāl jatī hai Srī Chand, babānā dehra banāyā.

Bhai Gurdas, Var 26, p 33

[28] manjī Dās bahālyā, Datā sidhāsn sikh āya. *Ibid.*

[29] Mohan kamlā hoyā cubārā Mohrī banāyā. *Ibid.*

[30] mīnā hoyā pirthīa, kar kar teḍak barl calāyā. *Ibid.*

[31] Meharban's activities, his claim to be the seventh Guru (his father asserted to be the sixth), his distortions of the *Janam-sākhī*, his spiritual writings like *Sukhmanī*, where he brings down Sikhism to Puranic worship of gods and goddesses, show that he had neither fully grasped Sikh traditions nor Sikh theology but under the influence of his Brahmanical teachers he tried to corrupt it, though he did not succeed.

[32] P. N. Chopra in his book "Aspects of Society and Culture During the Mughal Age" (p 129) says : "Generally speaking, a Hindu child had his first lessons at about the age of five either from his father at home or from a teacher at school. The Mughals too would send their children to school before they were five years of age. The *maktab* ceremony was usually performed when a child was four years, four months and four days old, usually after circumcision.

The fact that the children of the Guru's household acquired proficiency in learning, fighting and administration at a very early age shows that their education began quite

early, probably at the age of four. Guru Tegh Bahadur fought in the Kartarpur battle when he was a little over 13. Guru Hari Rai became the Guru at the age of 14, Guru Harkrishan at the age of 6 and Guru Gobind Singh at the age of 9. This shows education and training of these gifted children started quite early, at the age of four the latest.

[33] The *Upanayna* ceremony according to Dr. P. N. Chopra consisted of the student reciting the following Gayatri mantra after the teacher:

Tat savitur varam rūpam jyotīh parāsyā dhīmāhī,
yannā satyenā dipāyet.

"Let us meditate on the most auspicious (best) form of Savitri, on the Light of the Supreme which shall illumine us with the Truth."

Auribindo's translation

When the Gurus stopped reciting the *Gayatri* and substituted it by the *Mūlmañtra* Hindus reported to Akbar that the Sikh Gurus were corrupting and destroying the fundamentals of Hindu Faith. Jetha, later Guru Ram Das went to Agra to explain why the Sikh Gurus had rejected the *Gayatri* and replaced it with the *Mūlmañtra*. Akbar was highly pleased with the philosophical interpretation of both.

[34] *Mūlmañtra* ik oṁkar sat nām kartā purkh, nirbhau, nirvair akāl mūrat ajūni saibaṁ, gurparsād.
God is but One,
His Spirit all pervading;
Truth: His Name,
Creative Being,
Fearless, without enmity,
Deathless His form,
Never born, Self-existent.
Attained by the Guru's Grace.

[35] For detailed study of these weapons see William Irvine: *The Army of the Indian Moghals*, p 82-86.

[36] W. Irvine: ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "Despite the Muslim madness for music, the status of musicians except for renowned virtuosos, was low. Few men of higher classes condescended to study the intoxicating art. The music of the rich household was provided by female slaves and a school of law held that a testimony of a musician could not be accepted in the Court.

H. G. Farmer: History of Arabian Music.

[39] Guru Tegh Bahadur is the only Guru who composed hymns in the *Rag Jayjayvāñtī*.

[40] gur dīkhyā lai Sikh, sikh sadayā

Bhai Gurdas, *Vār* 3, p 11.

[41] *Charan Pahul:* (Baptism of the lotus feet) was introduced by

Guru Nanak for initiating his disciples. The Guru took water in vessel, touched it with his clean feet to infuse into it his personal magnetism and recited *Japji*. This was given to the disciple and the Mystic Word was then imparted to him. We find reference to it in Bhai Mani Singh's *Janam Sākhī*, Bhai Gurdas, *Adi Granth* and other historical works sila alūṅī catnī caran kamal carnodak pyāyā. Bhai Gurdas: V : 25 : 2.

Other historical records which clearly state that not only Guru Nanak but subsequent Gurus adopted the *Charan pahul* ceremony of baptism are: Kavi Santokh Singh : *Sūraj Prakāsh Mehmā Prakāsh* ; *Gurbilās patshāhi cheviṅ*, Sewa Singh : *Shahīd-bilās* ; Kahan Singh : *Mahān Kosh* ; Macauliffe : *The Sikh Religion* ; Kartar Singh : *Life of Guru Gobind Singh*. Guru Gobind Singh ended this ceremony and replaced it by the *pahul* of double edged sword, to be given not by any individual but by five Sikhs. He closed the *Charan pahul* ceremony in the following manner: Guru Gobind Singh ordered fresh water to be bought from the river in a metal vessel. He washed his feet in it, recited the prayer and sealed the vessel. Then he ordered it to be buried in the river bed thereby symbolising that the *Charan pahul* ceremony was henceforth to be closed and not performed at all.

nij carn pakhāl gāgre darā,
kar baṅd lakhota mohar mukh kara,
satrav māh amān dharayā
khande ki pahul hukam karāya
Mehmā Prakāsh

The Udāsīs, Nanakpaṅthīs, the Mīnās (Ingroups of Sikh Faith) continued to perform the *charan pahul* ceremony. The author of Tehkikate Chisti writes:

> "ek pyālā sarbat kā karke us me apnā nar aṅgust pa, mye aur do car sadhan ke dho kar tālib ko pilātā hai. bād hun satnām maṅtar paṅc dafā us ko suna, bal yad karā kar halwā taksīm kartā hai."

[42] Initiation or baptism generally took place two or three years after the child started his education.

CHAPTER III

EARLY INFLUENCES

THE most sustaining influence on Baba Tegh Bahadur was that of his mother Nanaki, who, like Mary the Mother of Jesus Christ, had the unique experience of watching her son grow from birth to prophethood, and from prophethood to martyrdom. Her love for him, her attachment and interest in his life and deeds, and her maternal concern for his welfare and glory were always deep and touching. No wonder, when he grew up and wrote divine songs, to express his feelings, wisdom and aspirations about the sorrows and problems of humanity, he began most of them with the word: "O Mother". From her he imbibed the tenderness, love of silence, and unbounded charity.

His father, Guru Hargobind, was to him not only a spiritual preceptor, but the living image of all the Gurus, from Guru Nanak to Guru Arjan, and a perfect embodiment of the spirit of God.[1] Almost every day he had the opportunity to hear his elevating sermons, reflecting scholarship and profound vision of truth. Each sermon, delivered to listners of all faiths, and men and women from all parts of India, radiated divine wisdom, fearless, gentle courage of deep faith in God, and the will to suffer and sacrifice one's all for *dharma* (righteousness). The grace and power of his personality, and the remarkable Sikh institutions he was building, were felt and grasped in their entirety by the sensitive and receptive mind of Baba Tegh Bahadur. He saw him moulding the musical message of spiritual humanism of Guru Nanak into a progressive synthesis of supernational political ideals of freedom, and existential mysticism of universal faith. The whole green oasis of spiritual wisdom, in which he lived and moved, was warm with human vision, with kindliness, reverence for life, prayers, and new dimensions of religious and philosophical understanding between people of different faiths and of creative freedom to preserve culture, civilisation and spiritual ideals from being savagely destroyed by barbaric and aggressive forces. Some people objected to his becoming Saviour with the Sword, but they knew not that, when despotism and tyranny stoop to

physically eliminate the lovers of truth and peace, only the sword of *dharma* (righteousness) can protect it. He was thus welding together the fiery pacifism of his martyr father, Guru Arjan, with Guru Nanak's fearless spirit of resistance to evil, by teaching his disciples, preparedness to fight evil on all fronts, the sword being the last resort.[2] One grim lesson Indian history and contemporary experience taught the Gurus was that abject non-resistance of evil had destroyed almost root and branch noble faiths like Buddhism and plunged this country, known for its profound wisdom, and material glory, into centuries of slavery and humiliation at the hands of petty conquerors. The sword of Guru Hargobind made it clear to all that tyranny, despotism, coercion and oppression by any majority creed will never be able to strangle this remarkable faith of Guru Nanak.

Whoever entered Amritsar, where the inspiring Guru ruled, entered the heart of humanity, and learnt without going into dogmas and religious laws, the religion of divine neighbourhood and love. Such enlightening influence of his father awakened in the heart of Baba Tegh Bahadur, fearlessness, unbounded moral and spiritual courage, and the spirit of self-consecration which subsequently matured into many flowered purity and glory. Out of his brothers, Baba Tegh Bahadur had a special affection for Baba Gurditta and Baba Atal. Being the youngest brother, Bibi Viro remained deeply attached to him, not only during childhood, but even in later life.[3] Amongst the sage-disciples of Guru Hargobind, Bhai Buddha, Bhai Gurdas, and Bhai Bidhi Chand deeply influenced Baba Tegh Bahadur, though the influence of each was different in its mode of inspiration. From Bhai Buddha he imbibed the lessons and experiences of mysticism, from Bhai Gurdas the profundity of poetry and philosophy, and from Bidhi Chand the heroism of a warrior, always ready to sacrifice his life for *dharma.* All three were simple, pure hearted sages, profoundly learned in the affairs of the world, nature and God. Their intuition could divine and face the most torrential tides of difficulties, trials and tribulations. Their faces themselves were scrolls of wisdom. Their actions and speeches bore witness to the transcending vision of the human and the divine. As Baba Tegh Bahadur's teachers, they revealed to him, man's power to relate himself to humanity in a life of service and

self-sacrifice. They grounded in him the perennial wisdom and noble traditions of Sikh history and culture. They inspired him with the poetry of faith, that made his whole life a deathless saga of a consecrated spirit marching towards glory and greatness.

To Amritsar came now and then the great Muslim Saint Mian Mir.[4] As a devoted friend of Guru Arjan who invited him to lay the foundation stone of the Harimandir (Golden Temple), he had an abiding personal attachment for the House of the Guru and the Amritsar city. "Mian Mir wore a long *khirqa* or mantle made of coarse woollen material with upturned collar, wide sleeves, reaching just below the knees. It was considered a symbol of piety and its origin was attributed to the holy mantle of the prophet. He wore a triangular cap (*kulha*) made of a number of gores, each signifying, a sin abandoned. It was also held to be of divine origin. Its long triangular shape was adopted in consideration for the shape of the vase of light wherein God has deposited the soul of the holy Prophet. To this cap was attached a rose which was also a mystic symbol:

> The rose on the head honours the wearer,
> It points to the path of the Qadri disciples.

It had three circles and numerous rings, the former signifying respectively: the law of God as revealed by the holy Prophet, the path of the *Qadiriya* Order and divine knowledge, the acquisition of which was most essential".[5] He came to Amritsar just before the death of Jahangir. All the children of Guru Hargobind bowed in utter reverence to the Sufi Saint, and he blessed them. He related to them his joy of those sacred moments when he met their grandfather Guru Arjan and had illuminating spiritual discourses with him. He also related his poignant sorrow when he saw with his own eyes, Guru Arjan tortured to death. Alas, he came to know too late, when the mischief had been done. He was so seriously upset, that he threatened to curse and punish the ruler and bring him to dust. But, Guru Arjan was calm in his suffering, and asked his friend Mian Mir not to worry about him. To him the Will of God, which made him suffer for *dharma*, was ever so sweet. Neither his mind nor his soul suffered. He however asked Mian Mir to treat Hargobind as his son. Mian Mir saw to it that the rest of the Emperor's order[6] to confiscate

his property and imprison his family at Lahore were never carried. He also saw to it that Jahangir repented over his misdeed and maintained friendly relations with young Hargobind. The Guru's, family and the whole Sikh community looked on Mian Mir as the most gracious and noble friend of the Sikh community.

Not only Mian Mir's sermons and personality deeply impressed Baba Tegh Bahadur and his brothers, but his daily life, which was spent mostly in worship and prayer, was also inspiring to these young seekers of truth. At sunset, he entered a room or an underground cell, where he meditated for a great part of the night, and practised *Habsdam* (practising the presence of God, through divine Name, with every breath).[6] From early life, Baba Tegh Bahadur developed this very habit of sitting either in a secluded room, or an underground cell, where he spent a great part of the night in meditation. While our crudely written historical records of this period are mostly silent about the spiritual encounters between the great Sufi Saints and the Sikh Gurus and their contemporaries, the similarity between the meditative habits of Baba Tegh Bahadur and Mian Mir are remarkably striking.

Another great soul, whose influence on Baba Tegh Bahadur was inescapable was Bibi Kaulan, the young Muslim disciple of Saint Mian Mir, who under the instruction of her Master, chose to spend the last few years of her tender and short life under the protection and spiritual guidance of Guru Hargobind. While legend and corrupt annals have clouded and distorted the actual facts of her life, the holy tank (*Kaulsar*) erected in memory of the piety, spirituality and greatness of this seventeen years old Muslim girl speaks volumes of the respect and honour she had acquired in Sikh history, culture and institutions. There have been very great saintly Sikh women, some of whom lived a very pious life and in the end became martyrs of Sikh history and some of them belonged to the Guru's household, and yet no such monument was constructed in memory of any of those women. Not only was a holy tank constructed and named after Bibi Kaulan, but it was made a place of pilgrimage, as sacred and important as the holy tank of the Golden temple (Amritsar). The pilgrimage of a Sikh is complete only when after bathing

at the tank of the Golden Temple he bathes at *Kaulsar* (the tank built in memory of Bibi Kaulan).

Bibi Kaulan was the daughter of Rustam Khan, a Qazi of Lahore.[7] Whenever Guru Hargobind went to Lahore he stayed at a place which was just by the side of this Qazi's house.[8] Precocious and deeply religious from childhood, she became the disciple of Mian Mir, and lived most of the time at the *Khanqah* of the Saint, who, out of affection and respect was also addressed as "*Bala Pir*" (High Priest[9])" She imbibed from the Sufi Saint the spirit of higher Islam and learnt from him the spiritual practices of *Qaidiriya* Sufi faith, which inspired her to give up all thought of worldly life and lead the life of a Sufi nun. During the early period of spiritual training, she happened to see and meet Guru Hargobind, when the young Guru went there to pay his respects to Saint Mian Mir.

This meeting between Mian Mir and Guru Hargobind was dramatic. During his first visit to Lahore after the death of his father, Guru Hargobind expressed his desire to see Saint Mian Mir. Divining through his spiritual powers that the young Guru was anxious to meet him, Mian Mir immediately left his *Khanqah* on foot to meet the Guru and secretly fulfil his wishes. Hardly had he gone a furlong or two, when he saw Guru Hargobind coming, riding a horse at galloping speed.[10] When Guru Hargobind was about to get down from his horse to pay his respects to the Saint, Mian Mir tried to stop him, saying: "I must conduct my royal guest, holding the reins of his horse with my own hands." But Guru Hargobind got down, saying, that no royal visitor ever dare ride a horse, while the great Bala Pir was on foot. They embraced each other warmly. It was the embrace of two gods vowed to a life of friendship and love. Hand in hand they moved on to the *Khanqah*[11] where Mian Mir introduced all his eminent disciples including Bibi Kaulan to Guru Hargobind.[12]

While Mian Mir and Guru Hargobind were engaged in an intimate spiritual discourse[13] their illuminating discussions deeply influenced and inflamed the listeners, most of all Kaulan, into ecstatic ardour. Mian Mir and his disciples paid a return visit to Guru Hargobind's place of residence. The spiritual encounter between the *Qaidiriya* Saint Mian Mir and the Warrior Sikh Guru Hargobind became the talk of the

town, invoking joy amongst the liberal Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs but exciting jealousy, bitterness and contempt amongst the bigoted Mullas and Brahmins. When Bibi Kaulan spoke highly of the Guru to her father Rustam Khan, during one of her visits home, he was shocked and wild with anger. Already an altercation had developed between him and Guru Hargobind's disciples about the transaction of some horses. He now could not tolerate his daughter speaking so highly of the Sikh Guru.

As Mian Mir and all his eminent disciples were celibates it was the custom in his *khanqah* that girl inmates had to leave the place as soon as they attained maturity.[14] Girls of mature age were not initiated, the only notable exception being Princes Jahanara Begum.[15] Whenever a girl inmate of the *Khanqah* attained maturity or even appeared to be grown up, she was generally asked to go back to her parents and get married, but in case she wanted to lead a purely religious life of prayer and meditation, she was advised to go to some householder religious teacher with the consent of her Master. When Bibi Kaulan was asked to make a choice, she decided to go and live in the protection of Guru Hargobind. This was gladly permitted by Saint Mian Mir, but he thought it proper that she should get consent from her father and mother. Her mother agreed but the bigoted father raised a hue and cry and even threatened to kill her.[16] With the help of her mother she first escaped to Mian Mir's *khanqah* and from there the saint sent her to Amritsar under the care of his disciple Abdulla.[17] According to another version Guru Hargobind personally went to Lahore along with five Sikhs to escort her safely to Amritsar.[18]

Kaulan was given a separate house and some women attendants. Complete arrangements were made for her comforts and life of solitude and prayer.[19] Near her house was the playground where Baba Atal and Baba Tegh Bahadur used to play.[20] Everyday they went to pay respect to the divine lady. Her piety, her beauty of soul, her austere life were a constant source of inspiration to them. Here, she enjoyed the calm, the peace and the security of Mian Mir's *khanqah* and she did not fear any harm or obstruction in her goal of life from bigoted and fanatic people of any faith who could not bear the sight of a Muslim girl living near a non-Muslim

prophet. Bibi Kaulan's love for life of contemplation and spiritual communion with God now began to flower in ideal surroundings. Her youthful spiritual personality, her calm and poised mind, her radiant soul shed light on all those who came near her. Guru Hargobind had complete faith in her noble character, in her unfailing intuition, and her spiritual destiny.

Through these uncommon and unusual spiritual associations, which were resented by bigoted and narrow minded Muslims, Hindus and even some ignorant Sikhs, Guru Hargobind was showing to his children, who he knew had to face very difficult times ahead, a practical way of bridging the cultural gulf between the Hindu and Islamic traditions, which instead of being narrowed was visibly being widened by the fanatic and narrow minded Mullas and Brahmins on one, hand and by the intolerant and vain Mughal rulers and Hindu princes and priests on the other hand.

From these illuminating experiences, Baba Tegh Bahadur understood quite early in life that all higher religions must meet in the love and spiritual communion with God and that the future social structure of humanity could neither survive on atheism, materialism and godless political secularism, nor on fanatic, intolerant theocratic states, which become virtually the enemies of true religion of man.

The freedom from fear and the spiritual and military training which Guru Hargobind was giving to his sons and disciples, and the inspiration to fight on all fronts, social oppression, political tyranny, moral degradation and fanaticism and dogmatism in religion, and to maintain spiritual relations between people of different creeds, had a great effect in moulding and directing the aspirations of young Tegh Bahadur. Even during childhood he showed realistic wisdom, poetic and mystic tendencies which convinced the people that he was a man with a destiny. Two little anecdotes prove what I have stated.

People, particularly women had great faith in the wisdom and spiritual powers of Baba Gurditta, Baba Atal and Baba Tegh Bahadur. When they failed to get an opportunity to meet the Guru they came to these young mystics and sought their blessings. A mother brought to Baba Tegh Bahadur her son, who was not keeping good health, and humbly requested him to heal him through prayer and blessings.

Baba Tegh Bahadur asked the lady to come on the fourth day. When after the expiry of three days, the lady took her son to Baba Tegh Bahadur again, he told her that the boy should not take jaggery (coarse brown Indian sugarcake), as was his habit. The child was completely cured after some days. But the curious mother asked Baba Tegh Bahadur the reason why he did not give the same suggestion the very first day, to which he replied with a smile: "My good lady, I was also in the habit of taking jaggery after every meal and I did not dare to give an advice on which I did not act myself. For three days I did not take jaggery and then I could conscientiously give the advice".[21]

Some of the children of the Gurus household befriended the *masands* (diocesan bishops) who in return brought gifts and presents to them, because they knew that one of them was a prospective Guru. When a friend suggested that he should do the same, Baba Tegh Bahadur replied: "My friend, do you not remember that the Lord is called the Friend of the poor, the humble and the afflicted; I value His compassion and friendship much more than the wealth of the three worlds".[22]

NOTES & REFERENCES

[1] Hargobind, Gur Arjano, Gur Gobind nā sadāyā.
Bhai Gurdas: *Var:* 24, p 25.
harkhoñ sogoñ bāhirā haran bharan samrath saraṅdā,
ras kas rūp n rekh vic rāg raṅg nirlep rāhaṅdā;
gośt gyān agocarā budh bal bacan bibek na chaṅdā:
Gur Govind, Goviṅd Gurū, Hargoviṅd sadā vigsaṅdā.
acraj no acraj mile vismāde vismād milaṅdā
gurmukh mārag calnā khande dhār kar nibhaṅdā,
Bhai Gurdas: *Var* 24, p 21

[2] Shivaji's Guru, Goswami Ram Das met Guru Hargobind in Kashmir and asked him: hauṅ śunyā thā gurū Nānak kī gadī par baiṭhā hai, Nānak Gurū tyagī the, tum śastar dhāran kare haiṅ, ghoḍe fauj rakhī hai, sacā pātśā kahavtā haiṅ, Kaisā sāndh haiṅ: "I heard that you are the successor of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak had renounced the world; while you wore the sword, keep horses and an army, and people call you "the True King." What kind of a Sādhū are you." Guru Hargobind replied:

bātan fakīrī,
zāhar amīrī,
śastar garīb kī rakhyā
jarvāne kī bhakhyā

Babā Nānak śaṅsar nahī tyāgyā thā
Māyā tyāgī thī.
Saintliness within,
Royalty without;
The sword is to protect the poor,
And destroy the tyrant.
Baba Nānak did not renounce the world
He renounced *maya*: "mammon"

Ram Das was very pleased. And it appears it is after this interview he directed the mind of his disciple Sivaji in the same direction.

Pothī Paṅjāh sākhīāṅ.

[3] Bibi Viro visited Baba Tegh Bahadur every now and then at Bakala. After the Guru's martyrdom she placed all her five sons at the service of Guru Gobind Singh and they all sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Guru.

[4] Dara Shikoh in his *Sakinat-ul-Auliya* states:

"Mian Mir was born in Sistan in A.D. 1550 and at the age of 12 he used to attend the discourses of Shaikh Khizar, a staunch adherent of Qadri Order. It was at the age of 24 or 25, he arrived at Lahore and settled in Mohalla Beghampura known as Khafipura." His pedigree is given as follows:

Qazi Sain Ditta
Married Fatima daughter of Qazi Kadan.

Bullan	Usman	Tahir	Mian Mir alias: Mohammed Mir
			Jamal Khatun Jamal Madi

Guru Arjan was ten years younger than Mian Mir. When Mian Mir arrived at Lahore Guru Arjan was also there. It is during this very early period a great friendship appears to have developed between the two, which matured into an unbreakable bond.

[5] Dara Shikoh: *Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā.*

[6] Jahangir's Order as recorded in his Tuzuk is: "I fully knew his heresies, and I ordered that he should be brought into my presence and his house and children be made over to Murtaza Khan, that his property be confiscated and that he should be put to death."

According to this order Guru Arjan was no doubt tortured to death, but the rest of the order was definitely stayed, by the intervention of Saint Mian Mir. Neither were the houses and children made over to Murtaza Khan nor was the property confiscated. Dara Shikoh was also deeply shocked by the way Guru Arjan was tortured to death and he alludes to it indirectly when he says: that his grandfather had little faith in saints and dervishes and he used to torture

them." So far as we know only Guru Arjan was tortured to death. After his meeting with Mian Mir, he entertained a great esteem for Mian Mir and never refused him anything. It was through Mian Mir that a friendship developed between Guru Hargobind and Jahangir. Through letters Jahangir continued to ask for blessings. Two of these letters are recorded by Dara Shikoh in his book. A year or two before his death, the period of our narrative, Emperor Jahangir invited Mian Mir to Delhi. "The Shaikh had a long conversation with His Majesty in which he dwelt mainly on the instability of the world. His advice had such effect on the mind of the Emperor that he expressed a desire to become a disciple of the Saint and abandon the world. The latter however admonished him to continue his worldly pursuits, observing that the kings had been made for the protection of God's people and that in ruling over them he was discharging an important duty entrusted to him by the creator. The Emperor was much pleased to hear this and he asked: "O Shaikh do you want anything?" "I shall ask you only for one thing", replied Mian Mir, "do you promise to give me?" "Most certainly I will grant it," said Jahangir. The holy Shaikh said: "My only wish is that your Majesty would not give me the trouble of coming to you again."

[7] "Rustam nāmak Qāzī ke ghar ek Kaulāň nāmak putrī, fakīr Mīāň Mīr Murīd thī. voh at suňder hone par bhī bahut hī sushīl tathā lajāvatī thī; chotepan se hī usne parmeśvar ke bhajan simrin fakīroń kī sohbat me apne man ke pavitar kar rakhā thā, yuvtī ho kar bhī us ne apnā vivāh karne se pitā mātā ko inkār kīā thā."

Sadhu Govind Singh: *Ithās Gurū khalsā* (Hindi)

Gyani Gyan Singh in his *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā* also gives her father's name as Rustam Khan.

[8] While all other records say that she was the daughter of the Qazi, the author of *Umdātutawarīkh*, in daftar aval, says: She was the maid servant of the Qazi: "Kaulan nami kanizak Qazi ke az zumreh muatqidan in, junab ali bud, musrif gardid." Kaulan the maidservant of the Qazi had found faith in this great man (Guru Hargobind) and she became one of his honoured disciples.

[9] Dara Shikoh: *Sakīnat-ul-Auliya*

Latif: *History of Lahore* p 175

[10] Jām divas bākī jab rehio
Mian Mir prasaňg sū lehio
darśan ko gamnīe taj thān
sri Guru sarb bārtā jān,
kehat śīghar hī hai mangāyo
hoe arūḍ ke beg calāyo

Sūraj Prakāsh: Rās 5 Aňsū 20

[11] ghar te pīr thor hī cale,

jāe agāūñ satgur mile,
lok bilokat im lakh pāyo,
len Gurū ko age āyao,
her praspar vadhio anañd,
Mīāñ Mīr mile kar bañd,
Sri Hargobind utran lāge,
gahī rakāb śīghar hoe āge,
dhāre hāth meh hāth agāre
hoe barobar jugal padhāre.

Ibid

[12] Other eminent disciples of Mian Mir who lived with him were: Shaikh Bilawal Qaidri, a man of great religious sanctity and piety who established numerous alms houses. Mullah Shah, the pīr of Dara Shikoh and Jahanara Begum, Shaikh Abdul Ma'ali, who acquired the knowledge of Theology from Mian Mir, etc.

See *Badshāhnāmā* and *Shahjahān Nāmā*.

[13] Kaho pīr jī, brit keh tīk,
hak sahī kīnas tehkīq ;
kaun avasthā ko ras let,
man par kaise raho sucet,
nāś vāśnā ko ur hovā.
ātam anañd kaho kas jovā.

Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 5. Aňsū 20.

[14] Dara Shikoh tells us the story of his own sister Nadira Begum, who became a disciple of Mian Mir at a very early age. She attended the Saint Mian Mir with a pitcher of water to assist the holy man in making ablutions preparatory to offering prayers. At the age of 11 she was once attending the Pir, with the pitcher of water for the afternoon prayers, when the Saint, looking at her, said: "Child, you are now growing into womanhood, you had better not appear before the public now." The girl felt very much abashed at the observation made by the Pir, and prayed God that her existence might be brought to a close. Her prayer, so the story goes, was accepted and she died the same night. Dara Shikoh built a Bārādari in memory of Nadira Begum to the east of the mausoleum of Mian Mir.

Dara Shikoh : *Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā* and Latif's *History of Lahore.*

[15] It was at the special request of Dara Shikoh, that Mullah Shah initiated Jahanara Begum who was originally the follower and admirer of Chisti Saints. She wrote a book on the lives of Chisti Saints for whom her admiration never died. On her death she was buried in the mausoleum of Nizamudin Auliya with the inscription: "God is living and self-subsisting. Let naught cover my grave save the green grass, for grass well suffices as covering for the graves of the lowly."

[16] Odar qāzī ne kihā ke tun śarā muhammadī de anusār katal karan de lāek hoveň gī,"

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khalsa,* p 227.

qazion se mīl kar apnī kar apnī putrī Kaulān ko shara'h ke bāhār bartāv karne ke aprādh me hukam katal niklā.

Sadhu Gobind Singh : *Ithās Guru Khālsā.*

[17] Kaulan ne Mian Mir nū jāke sārā birtāňt sunāyā te Mian Mir ne apne cele Abdulla Shah nū Kaulāň nāl de kar Guru Hargobind jī val bhej ditā, te ākh ditā ke Kaulāň saran āī hai, is dī jān bacaunā tuhādā te sādā dharm hai.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khalsa,* p 227.

Mian Mir ne Kaulāň ko kahā : yahāň par koī upāo nahī tere bacne kā partīt hotā, viarth Mansūr kī tarāh in zālam logon ke hāth me katal karī jae gī ; is se achā hove ke tū abhī saran pālak Gurū Hargobind ke pās Amritsar me calī jāh ; is kāl me sivāe unke terī jān bacāne vālā aur koī dūsrā nahī hai. Kaulāň ne apne Gurū kā kahā ucit samjhā ; usī vakt bāňdh banā kar apne ek gurbhāī ko sāth le kar sehar Amritsar ko ravānā huī. Vahāň Mian Mī kī pehcān se Guru Hargobind jī ki saran me nivās karne lagī.

Sadhu Gobind Singh : *Ithās Guru Khālsā.*

[18] *Suraj Prakash* Rās 5 Aňsū.

[19] Raja Sir Daljit Singh : *Guru Tegh Bahadur* P 8.

[20] Ibid p 11.

CHAPTER IV

STORM, LIGHTNING AND RAINBOW

IN October 1627 A.D. Emperor Jahangir died at Rajauri and there began a quick shuffling of cards at the Imperial headquarters. The battle of succession began at Lahore, when Nurjahan supported Nashudani (Shahriyar), who assumed the imperial title, siezed the royal treasures and distributed nearly seventy lakh rupees within a week to get supporters. "Nur Jahan's brother Asaf Khan resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shah Jahan, though Dawar was a mere sacrificial lamb. He then fought and captured Lahore. Asaf Khan wrote to Shah Jahan informing him of his victory. Shah Jahan sent him a *firman* to send all possible contenders for the throne to the other world. After receiving this *firman* Shah Jahan was proclaimed Emperor, and *khutba* was read in his name in all the mosques of Lahore. About three weeks later Dawar, his brother Garshas, Shahriyar, Tahmuras, Hoshang, and sons of the deceased Prince Daniyal were all put to death."[1]

Shah Jahan was in the Deccan when Jahangir died. He hurried to Agra and made a state entry into the capital on January 24, 1628 A.D. and ascended the throne on February 4, 1628 A.D. with the title Abu-l-Musaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad Sahib Kiran-i-Sani.[2] Dara and Aurangzeb, who had been kept as hostages by Jahangir at Lahore since June, 1626 A.D. were brought to Agra. Asaf Khan was exalted to the dignity of 8,000 sawar, was allowed to kiss the Emperor's feet, (a unique privilege) entrusted with the Emperor's signet ring and made the Vakil of the Empire.[3] Khizmat prast Khan was appointed Viceroy of Lahore.[4]

At Amritsar everyone feared that the Hindu reactionaries and the bigoted Mullas and Qazis might incite the new Viceroy against the Guru on the issue of Kaulan's asylum. Already, the enemies of the Guru had started spreading all sorts of scandalous rumours, and the situation became so alarming that some prominent Sikhs of Lahore and Amritsar went to Bhai Gurdas[5] and Bhai Buddha and requested them to use

their influence over the Guru and persuade him not to keep Bibi Kaulan at Amritsar.

Both Bhai Gurdas and Baba Buddha went to Guru Hargobind, and requested him to keep Bibi Kaulan at a distance, so that the Imperial authorities might not have any communal cause to attack Amritsar. The proposal of the extremists to completely renounce her and send her back to her parents was not accepted. Guru Hargobind, however, could not refuse any request from Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas, because he treated them as his wisest teachers. As the advice was given in good faith and out of discriminating forethought (*Vivek*), the Guru accepted it.[6] He said that Kaulan would be sent to Kartarpur, where he himself intended to go when the clouds were cleared. He was, however, determined not to send her back to Lahore, and throw her into the pit out of which she had been taken. That would amount to cowardice and betrayal of Saint Mian Mir and the innocent Bibi Kaulan. He also told them that Kaulan's earthly journey was near its end. Within a month or so she might leave the world.[7] If the Imperial forces wanted a pretext to fight him they would find a hundred others. Guru Hargobind requested Bibi Kaulan to go to Kartarpur, where adequate arrangements for her comforts and security were made. Kaulan readily agreed, after taking assurance from the Guru, that he would come to her at the moment of her departure from this world.[8] He asked her not to take the attitude of the people and even of some of his disciples to heart. He assured her of his protection, and told her that in history her devotion for him and God would be remembered as the love of the gypsy girl (Bhilni) for Lord Rama.[9]

Early in March 1628, the happiest news Guru Hargobind received was that Hakim Alim-ud-din, alias Wazir Khan, the devoted friend of his father, was appointed the Viceroy of Punjab. Wazir Khan was respected by the Sikh Gurus for his liberal views, deep scholarship, and love of truth. It was a well known fact that with the possible exception of his uncle Asaf Khan, he was the most trusted official in Shah Jahan's regime. It was also learnt that he had invited the Emperor to visit Lahore on his way to Kashmir. There was now a chance of the influence of the Guru's enemies dying out at the court. Shah Jahan was particularly fond of Lahore.

which was his birth place, and his protracted stays there were expected.[10]

Baba Tegh Bahadur was now seven years old. He generally kept the company of Baba Atal, who was nine. At home and in the playground, these two sons of Holy Mother Nanaki were always together. The playground was near *Kaulsar* and not very far from Bibi Kaulan's residence. The divine lady was fond of meeting them almost every day and enjoyed talking to them with deep affection, as long as she was there.[11]

Baba Atal's love for games attracted all the children of his age, and Baba Tegh Bahadur was his constant companion in games. The cheerful and sportive temper of Atal Rai, his skill in leading the games, made him the Captain of a large team. He one day asked his friend Mohan, son of a rich Kshatryia, to form a team and play with his team the Indian cricket (*khido khundi*: lit: ball and hockey or bat). In this game one team takes to bowling and the other to batting. Mohan's team played first but as it was getting dark he promised that he would come the next day and give Atal Rai his turn to play.[12] But when Atal Rai came to the play ground the next day, all the boys were there, but Mohan the Captain of the rival team was not there. Determined to get his forfeit he went to Mohan's house, and was surprised to find that Mohan was dead. A snake had bitten him.

But what was death to the spiritually enlightened, and godly Atal Rai.[13] Not the master but a slave. How dare death disturb his games ? He who had conquered life and death, now went close to his friend Mohan, held him by his arm and said "Wake up Mohan, death dare not take you away when you still have to pay your forfeit to me in our game." Mohan came to life. He had been dead for many hours and now he woke up, as if death had never touched him. Was Atal Rai a boy or a living god who had brought the dead to life ? People bowed in awe and reverence. The news spread through the city like wild fire, and when Guru Hargobind came to know about it he was seriously upset. Has his son gone so far as to challenge the Will of God ? How did he dare to do this ?

After evening prayers, all the sons of the Guru came to pay their respects. But when Baba Atal moved forward to touch the feet of his father, Guru Hargobind turned his back. Baba

Atal was taken aback. His father, who embraced him every day and blessed him every day, turned his back on him ? What had he done to offend him or anyone else, he could hardly guess. To see his father angry with him was worse than death. With tears in his eyes, he asked : "Have I offended my dear father in any way ? Can I know the cause of your anger, dear father, so that I may beg forgiveness or atone for it."? "My son" replied Guru Hargobind, "you have not only annoyed me and upset me, but by assuming the powers of Almighty God and bringing Mohan to life, you have challenged the Will of God. Could I ever imagine that my son would ever do that? The Creator gives human birth to millions every day and he sends death to millions. How far can you challenge His Will?[14] How long will you not allow death to come near your friends ? Have you not struck at the root of the fundamental lesson taught by Guru Nanak : 'to abide by His Will'? Did not my revered father, Guru Arjan, suffer the most inhuman tortures to abide by His Will?"

Baba Atal prostrated before his father, and humbly begging forgiveness said : "Such a thing will never happen again father dear. Be not angry with me father, I will make amends for it." He got up and went to his mother. He bowed before his mother as if he was going away. Holy Mother Nanaki embraced him and blessed him. She was proud of the spiritual powers of her son. She asked him to wait for dinner, but he quietly slipped away. Baba Tegh Bahadur followed him. Many people who were wondering and admiring him for the miracle he had performed followed him. What would happen next no one could guess. Would he now please God and his father by calling death to his friend Mohan ?

Baba Atal went to the Holy pond of the Golden Temple (Harimandir) and took his bath. He then went near *Kaulsar* and sat in meditation. He recited the *Japji* and sat in *Nirvana Samadhi.*[15] People waited for another miracle. Was he going to challenge God again ? After about half an hour they found that Baba Atal had stopped breathing. He had discarded his body and taken Mohan's death on himself. Let his friend live and let the law of God abide.

When Guru Hargobind came to know about the supreme sacrifice of his son he was deeply moved. He who brought

to life his dead friend and challenged the Will of God, in innocent unconsciousness, readily gave his own life to atone for his transgression into God's domain. Baba Atal was cremated at the very place where he gave up his life and there now stands a nine-storey building by the side of *Kaulsar,* to commemorate Baba Atal's spiritual achievements and sacrifice at the age of nine.

To Baba Tegh Bahadur the death of his brother was a great shock, as well as an unforgettable lesson. He learnt the one supreme lesson of his life, that it requires greater moral and spiritual courage to abide by the will of God than to perform a miracle.[16]

The whole of Punjab was astir as Shah Jahan was arriving for the first time after his accession to the throne. As Abul Hamid author of *Badshahnama* puts it, "The royal camp, having moved from the tank of Khawaja Hoshiar, in the environs of Lahore, reached the Capital on the 7th of Ramzan 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.). At some distance from the town His Majesty was received with great pomp by Wazir Khan (who presented him with one thousand *ashrafis,* by way of *nazrana*), the grandees and nobles of Lahore and Subedars of Provinces. On the 9th, Wazir Khan presented His Majesty with jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels valued at four lakhs of rupees. The whole of the presents amounted to ten lakh rupees. His Majesty who entertained much respect for the fakirs, paid a visit to the Saint Mian Mir. "Mian Mir was," says Mulla Abdul Hamid, "a holy man, indifferent to the world and spoke but little".[17] On the 18th Ramzan he visited Sheikh Bilawal, another fakir of great sanctity and piety in Lahore and presented him a purse of Rs. 2,000, which, however, the Sheikh distributed among his fakirs, as he never kept anything for himself.[19]

It was a well known fact that Shah Jahan was not half so liberal as Jahangir. The contemporary Muslim chronicler praise him with pleasure as *Shahanshah Din-Panah,* and describes with approbation his fanatic attitude towards non-Muslims. His attitude towards Hindus, Christians, Sikhs and even Shias was hostile. "The Hindus of Punjab were severely punished for marrying Muslim women who were snatched away from them and made over to Muslims. About 400 Hindu husbands, who could not bear the disruption of their

homes, embraced Islam. And one who had insulted the Holy Book was put to death. About seven mosques were redeemed and three temples were turned into mosques."[19] When the Emperor was informed that the wealthy infidels in Benaras were desirous of completing the idol temples, which had been begun during the reign of his predecessor, an order was issued that those temples whose construction had commenced should be razed to the ground throughout the empire. The local officers literally carried out the command, and seventy six temples were demolished in Benaras alone. The Sikh shrine, Baoli Sahib, was filled up and a mosque was erected on the site of the free kitchen attached to it.[20] The Sikhs resented it.

While regional rulers from distant lands had come to pay homage and tribute to Shah Jahan, Guru Hargobind did not even make a courtesy call on him. This gave the reactionaries and enemies of the Guru a chance to poison the mind of the Emperor. But when the Guru came to know about the tremendous influence his friends Wazir Khan[21] and Mian Mir exercised on the Emperor, he was not much worried about any major conflict taking place between him and the Mughal Emperor. Expecting peace to reign during the next few months, Guru Hargobind fixed the marriage of his daughter, Bibi Viro, with Sadhu Ram, a young poet and son of Bhai Dharam Chand Khosla of Village Malla, in the Amritsar District. All the relatives, prominent guests and Sikhs had been invited. Baba Tegh Bahadur and other children were unusually happy. But on the very day of the marriage quite an unexpected thing happened.

Both the Emperor and Guru Hargobind were one day hunting in the same forest. Both the parties saw a beautiful hawk and they followed it with the hope of capturing it. Capturing the hawk alive was quite a difficult game. While the Emperor went back to Lahore leaving his men to capture the hawk, Guru Hargobind's hunting party pursued the hawk with a keen eye and cleverly captured it with the help of their own hawk. When the leader of the Imperial hunting party came to know that the hawk had been captured by the Guru's party he came and demanded it for the Emperor. The Sikhs refused, because according to the rules of hunting, the hawk belonged to the man who captured it and now they refused to give it under threat. There was a clash between the two

parties. The Imperial party was led by Faujdar Ghulam Rasul Khan, while the Guru's party was led by Bhai Bidhi Chand. In this skirmish the leader of the Imperial party was wounded and two of his men were killed.[22]

This gave the reactionaries a golden opportunity to fan bigoted prejudices and feelings of Shah Jahan. Some brought in the story of Kaulan, others complained that the Guru called himself the true King, kept a war drum, and sat on a raised platform, which were the exclusive prerogatives of the Emperors.[23] Feeling insulted at the virtual challenge to his authority, Shah Jahan hastily sent a detachment of troops under Mukhlis Khan, said to be a son of Zain Khan Koka.

Guru Hargobind immediately sent a messenger to the bridegroom's father that the marriage party should wait at the village Jhabal. He was almost sure of his victory but the sudden attack towards sunset made things difficult. The onslaught of the army was met at the *Lohgarh* (Steel fortress) built earlier, where twenty five of his brave soldiers fought to the last man. They used a wooden cannon[24] and prevented the Mughal army from entering the city till the evacuation of women and children and the noncombatants was complete. The leading commanders of the Guru's army, like Bhai Bhanu, Bhai Singha, Bhai Bidhi Chand, Bhai Tiloka, Bhai Ballu and Painda Khan took positions with about two hundred men each. While the rest of the Guru's family was safely taken to Ramsar, to be escorted out of the city from there, Bibi Viro inadvertently remained on the upper floor of the house which by nightfall was beseiged by the Emperor's troops. Bibi Viro stayed alone and undaunted in the house and kept silent. When Babak, the bard warrior and Singha came to her rescue in disguise, she refused to move till they showed her, her father's signet or rosary. How Baba Tegh Bahadur and other brothers of Bibi Viro felt, during this turmoil, can well be imagined. It was their first experience of a battle raging in their own sacred city where the marriage of their sister was expected to be performed. By sunrise all women and children were evacuated. Then early in the morning the Sikhs fought like desperate Spartans. Mukhlis Khan was killed in a hand-to-hand fight with Guru Hargobind. The Guru lost some of his best commanders and fighters like Bhai Bhanu, Bhai Singha, Bhai Gopal, Bhai Ballu and Bhai Mohan. Painda

Khan, Bidhi Chand and Bhai Jaita fought with great valour. The battle was won.[25] The dead were cremated. The wounded were looked after. And the marriage of Bibi Viro was celebrated at Jhabal. The bridegroom Sadhu Ram, being a poet, read a poem in honour of Guru Hargobind.

Baba Atal's death[26] was the first death in the family which Baba Tegh Bahadur had witnessed. This battle of Amritsar was the first battle he had seen. It symbolised for him the battle for *dharma,* the battle for truth and integrity. What impressed him and other children was the tranquillity of their father in the most difficult situation. The whole night and half of the next day he was in the battlefield, where he lost some of his dearest disciples. In the evening he performed the marriage of his daughter. Like the ocean which receiving floods, storms, cyclones is never swollen and never overflows, in sorrow Guru Hargobind was not dejected, in joy he was not overjoyed. His serene and lordly self-control, and his tranquillity and calm courage in the face of death and danger left a deep impression on Tegh Bahadur's mind. Every one of the Guru's sons was now eager to be a godlike hero like him and avail himself of the first opportunity to show that they had imbibed truly the spirit, the courage, the fearlessness and fortitude of his father, which in its essence was the true spirit of Guru Nanak's faith.

[1] Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshāhnāmā.*
[2] S. R. Sharma : *The Crescent in India,* p 538.
[3] Abdul Hamid Lahori : *Badshāhnāmā.*
[4] S. M. Latif : *"Lahore"* p 50
[5] gur niňdā neh jāe sahārī
cal āe ham saran tihārī
sarab bārtā keh samjhāi
kehio marm Gurdās banāi.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 5 : *Aňsū* 65.
[6] suno biridh jī bāk tuhāre,
bhaī tīn te aňgīkāre,
tum bac te bibek ab hovā,
ar tyāgan Kaulāň ko jovā.
Ibid. Rās 5 *: Aňsū* 66.
[7] bhaī avad pūran ab tāhi
paňdreh divas aur reh jāhī.
Ibid.

Kaulāñ died about six months after her departure from Amritsar

[8] Kaulāñbāc : prān bihāe ciñt mam nāhī,
birhe prabhū tum sio nā jāhī,
prān añt darśan mam dījai,
birdh sambhār prabhū sukh dījai.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 5, *Añsū* 64.

Guruji : tab gur bhāne ashī sukh hovai,
japo jap Nānak dukh khovai ;
man bacan Kaulāñ badbhāghaī
hoe nimar gur ke pag lāgi
Gurbilās pat : VI.

[9] niñd lok apjās kareñ bhed na jāne koe
Rām Bhīlni bāt jim tās tum jag me hoe.
Ibid.

[10] Shah Jahan was particularly attached to Lahore, as his birth place. According to *Badshanāmā*, the royal harem of Jahangir remained in the palace of Lahore until the fourth year of the reign. The royal princes, for the most part, lived here with the harem.
S. M. Latif : *"Lahore"*, p 51.

[11] khelat sāhibzāde cār,
tan su kumār su murat cār,
kar kar prem añk me let,
her her kar asikh det,
sabh son Kaulāñ karat saneh,
man me keh, badbhāgan eh,
pūrab jāna pun bad kīne,
jine sakal sukh is bidh dīne,
pat pū ya sabh jag sirmaur,
jeh sam aur nahī keh ṭhaur.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās, Añsū,

[12] bheo andherā sramat bisāle,
tajyo khel ghar nij nij cāle,
Atal Rāe Mohan sioñ kehio
ab to adhik andhero lehio
khelan te sakle hat rehio
rahī toh sir ab bhar cāle,
rakho yād leo maiñ kāle.
Ibid. Rās 6, *Añsū* 57.
Also see *Gurbilas Pat. VI*, and Macauliff's : *"The Sikh Religion"*, Vol. IV p 131.

[13] saṅgat des bidesan kerī
sabh meh mehmā inhoñ baderī ;
jāneh mahājot ko dhanī
kareh kāmna pūran ghanī.
Ibid Ras 6. *Ansu* 57.

[14] prabh ke sāth sarīkī kare
voh mare eh jīvat kare.

Gurbilās pāt : VI.

[16] sudā sarovar nhāe koi Japji paḍat tadāe,
tahāṅ jāe at harkh soṅ nij kar kusā dasāe ;
guru dhyan kīno tab sainā
khuṅdī dhar sir heth sukhainā
prān aṅt pikh āyo jab hī
jotī jot samāe tabhī.

Ibid.

taj sukhaiṅ tan baikuṇṭh gae
jeh madh kām krodh na bhae ;
utam pad me jāe samāe,
jis ko jogi jān nit dhyāe.
dās rehio dekhat tis thān
nahīṅ jānī tyā gat prān.
jab mrit bheo dekh bismāyo
da urat gur sioṅ jāe bitāyo.

Sūraj Prakāsh, Rās 6, *Aṅsū* 58.

[16] Subsequent events in this biography will show that Ram Rae gained practically nothing by showing miracles to Aurangzeb while Aurangzeb would have spared Guru Tegh Bahadur's life if he had shown but one miracle.

[17] S. M. Latif : *"Lahore"* p. 51

This visit of Shah Jahan is also reported by Dara Shikoh in his biography of Mian Mir in *Sakīnat Aulīya :* Shah Jahan was tempted to go to Mian Mir to get spiritual healing for his son Dara Shikoh. Dara Shikoh writes : "It so happened that I was suffering from a chronic disease and the physicians had not been able to cure me. They took me by hand and with great humility and reverence entreated the saint to pray to God for my health. The saint took my hand into his own and gave me a cup of water to drink. The result was immediate and within a week I recovered from the serious malady. At the termination of the conversation of the saint, the King presented him a turban and a rosary and received benedictions.

On this occasion (second visit) I went barefoot to his house and he gave me a rosary and while he was talking to the King he threw out of his mouth a chewed clove which I gathered and ate.

At another occasion (third visit) I found him reposing outside his house. I went near and paid my respects. He took me by hand and drew me near. Then he drew my shirt aside and also drew his cloak thus exposing his chest. He embraced me saying : "It has been entrusted to me." Thereafter such exhuberant light emanated from his heart and entered mine that I eventually begged : It is enough Sir, if you give me more my heart will burst." From that moment I find my heart full of enlightenment and ecstasy.

[18] S. M. Latif : *"Lahore"* p 52.

[19] A detailed account of them is given in Qazwini's Padshah Nama and also in the Mulakkhas. The extract that follows about the desecration of the temples is from *Padshāhnāmā.*

[20] dabī bazār Lahore vic Guru Arjan Dev dī banvāī vapīka, jo Shahjahīn de hukam nāl samat 1685 vic atvāī gaī sī te laṅgar dī thāṅ masīt banvāī gaī sī.

Kahan Singh: *Mahan Kosh* Second ed., p 644

[21] *Wazir Khan*: Hakim Alim-ud din alias Wazir Khan was a native of Chiniot in the Jhang district, where his place is still called Rekhti. According to Badshanama, after acquiring a knowledge of Arabic and Philosophy, he became a scholar of Hakim Dawi, from whom he learnt the art of medicine. His accomplishments as a physician attracted the attention of Shahjahan and in a short time he made himself familiar with the temper and disposition of the Emperor, the royal princes and the ladies of the Harem. He was first appointed superintendent of the Household, again Mir Saman or Superintendent of Royal kitchen from which post he was soon promoted to the office of Diwan. He was then created Amir, with rank of 5,000 personnel and 5,000 cavalry. When Shahjahan's Queen Mumtaz Begum died, Wazir Khan was the only male officer who was given the honour of carrying her coffin to the site of her burial, the Taj Mahal. Wazir Khan was appointed Subedar of Lahore in 1628. On his return from his second visit to Kashmir, in 1633 A.D. Shahjahan appointed him Subedar of Agra. While Shahjahan continued to stay at Lahore, he received the shocking news of the death of Wazir Khan in 1634 from colic. Khilats of condolence were sent to the members of his family. Wazir Khan's mosque is an architectural monument of surpassing beauty and elegance built in Persian-Mughal style.

Badshīhnām and Latif's History of Lahore, p 51, 56, 61, 214-221.

[22] Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 231.

[23] "is vakt cuglāṅ nū cuglī karan dā caṅgā samā hath āyā ; kise ne Chandū dī betī dī arzī sunāī; kise ne Meharvān dī misal kadhvāī; kise ne Kaulāṅ de kaul yād karvāe; kise ne cor dhaḍvāī batāe; kise ne nidar te beparvāh janāyā; kise ne ghazab diāṅ, galan kardā sunāyā; kise ne daulat dā abhimānī batāyā, kise ne shastrāṅ dā gumānī batāyā; ik pāte khān vicoṅ bol uṭhyā jī es pīr de asmān vic katūre bhauṅkde han; esne apne vadiāṅ dī pīr fakīraṅ vālī rīt maryādā chad ke amīrī vic pair rakhyā hai; sāre jahān de badsāhāṅ nū jhuṭhā te ap nū sacā patśāh kahauṅdā hai ; ikthade dā nām Akāl Takhat dhar rakhyā hai, aj bāj nū hath pāyā hai, kal tāj nū hath pāe gā.

Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 231.

[24] *Wooden Cannon:* Under the stress of necessity these strange substitutes (Wooden guns) for ordinary Cannons were used

by the Sikhs on two occasions. For instance, we learn that when the Sikhs in Dec. 1710 evacuated the fort of Lohgarh in the outer hills, they blew up a Cannon "which they had made out of the trunk of a tamarind tree" (Kanwar Khan entry of 19th Shawal 1122 A.H.). The Mohmedans estimated these make shift Cannons to be about half as effective as the usual kind. This wooden Cannon can still be seen at Amritsar.

William Irvine : *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, p : 128.

[25] The date of the battle of Amritsar is not definitely known. Sikh Chroniclers have given random dates. It can now be safely stated that this battle was fought in the year 1628 A.D. It might have taken place either in the beginning of summer, just before the Emperor left for Kashmir or just before autumn when the Emperor came from Kashmir. Some historians put it as early as March. This could be if the Emperor continued his stay at Lahore upto the middle of 1629 A.D. The more probable date is September-October 1628 A.D. Further research is necessary.

[26] Some Chroniclers place the death of Baba Atal after the battle of Amritsar. This could not possibly be, because after the battle Guru Hargobind left Amritsar and returned after about a year and half. The death of Baba Atal occurred some months before the battle. If the battle took place early in 1628 A.D. then the death of Baba Atal could have taken place towards the end of 1627 A.D. It would be possible to fix the date of Baba Atal's death after fixing the date of the battle.

CHAPTER V

GOINDWAL: ANCESTRAL HOME

HAVING performed his daughter's marriage, Guru Hargobind came to Amritsar. After resting there for the night, he proceeded to Tarn Taran,[1] which is situated fifteen miles north of Amritsar. There, he and his family paid homage to the sacred memory of Guru Arjan, the founder of the place of pilgrimage. Along with others, Baba Tegh Bahadur took a bath in the holy Lake by the side of the temple and recited his prayers. Then he listened to the inspiring anecdotes of his grandfather, which were related by some eye witnesses, who were still living. He also visited the leper asylum started by his grandfather on one side of the holy Lake.[2] These outcastes of society were given physical as well as spiritual healing. For the first time in the history of India, the lepers were given a sanctuary, not only in the heart of society, but by the side of an important sacred place. They were given a home, free food, free clothes, and medical aid, as well as spiritual training.

From Tarn Taran the family moved on to Khadur[3] about ten miles from Tarn Taran. Here, Guru Angad Dev, the second Guru of the Sikhs, had spent all the thirteen years of his pontificate, and every little place in this village had acquired historical significance, through the early visit of Guru Nanak to the house of a devout lady,[4] Mother Virai, through the sermons and activities of Guru Angad, and through Amar Das's penance, austerities, and labour of love, in the service of his divine Master. The sons of Dasu and Datu paid homage to the Guru and sought his blessings. From Khadur the family moved on to Goindwal,[5] their ancestral home. They were received, with great flourish and ceremony, by Baba Sunder,[6] the author of "*Sad*" (Dirge) composed on the death of Guru Amar Das, and by Sawan Mal,[7] nephew of Guru Amar Das and a great missionary. They made excellent arrangements for the stay of the Guru's family and his soldiers. Baba Sunder's mother (wife of Anand) served food to the Guru with her own hands. The people from neighbouring villages flocked to see the Olympian

personality of the Guru, who had just given a stunning defeat to the Imperialist forces.[8]

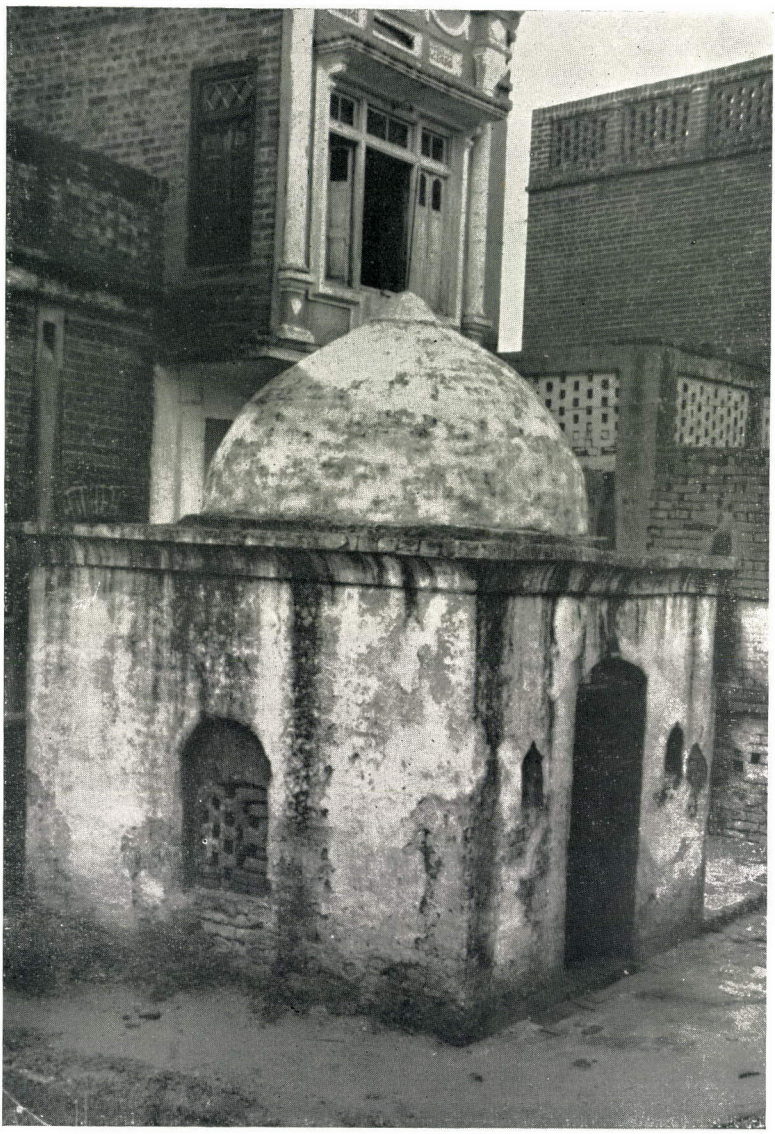
For Baba Tegh Bahadur and other children the pilgrimage to Tarn Taran, Khadur, and Goindwal was a lesson and inspiring experience in the history and spiritual traditions of Sikh faith. They were thrilled to hear about Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, and their great grandfather Guru Ram Das from people who had seen them, met them, listened to their holy Word and felt the aroma of their spiritual presence. Baba Sunder, above all, told them many interesting anecdotes of all the Gurus and their eminent disciples. It was indeed a thrilling experience to know and learn about the past grandeur and vicissitudes of their glorious faith that had done so much in so short a period.[9]

After two days' stay Guru Hargobind left for Kartarpur, leaving his family there. He probably expected another clash with the Imperial army, so he thought it proper to leave them at Goindwal under the charge of Bhai Gurdas. He was accompanied by all his leading commanders and his son Baba Gurditta. The Guru had received a message about the illness of Bibi Kaulan, and divining that her end was near, he first went to Kartarpur to fulfil his promise of being near her when she was about to leave the world. Ever since she had been separated from the Master, she had pined away in sorrow and silent meditation. Even the period of six months had passed like ages. By the grace of God her spirit had completely conquered her body, and now her soul sought an upward flight from this cruel world which failed to understand her simple unalloyed devotion for God and for divine Masters like Mian Mir and Guru Hargobind.[10]

As soon as she saw Guru Hargobind, she got up from her sick bed and clasped the feet of the Guru in devout salutation. She had now near her, the Saviour, her Master, her godlike Beloved. She would not leave hold of the Master's feet lest he should go again.[11] The Guru consoled her and told her that within a few hours her life's earthly journey would end, and till then he would not leave her side. History has not recorded the last discourse of Guru Hargobind to her, but the spiritual exaltation she felt, made her feel and see her God face to face. In her Master's hands she attained



Ancestral Home, Goindwal



Place where Guru Tegh Bahadur was married at Kartarpur

Nirvana, the supreme illumination and in his arms she breathed her last.[12]

When Painda Khan, the Muslim warrior of Guru Hargobind came to know about the sudden passing away of the divine lady, whom out of reverence he called "Mother", he wept like a child.[13] Her body was bathed by her maid-servants and the last rites were performed by the Guru himself, a privilege given to the disciples who had performed great deeds and acquired perfection.[14] When the news reached Amritsar and Goindwal, everyone was shocked and deeply moved. Prayers were said for her soul in both the holy places.

At Kartarpur Guru Hargobind learnt that a haughty landlord, Bhagwan Das Gherar, had forcibly occupied Gobindpur, later renamed Hargobindpur, and being a relative of Chandu Shah, the villainous and bigoted Hindu Diwan, who poisoned the mind of Jahangir against Guru Arjan and secured a death warrant against him, Bhagwan Das was harassing and threatening the Sikh residents of the place. Guru Hargobind sent a message to him asking him to vacate the illegally occupied city, but he threw down the gauntlet saying that he had acquired it with his might, and he would keep it with his might. Let the Guru try to take it, if he could.

Guru Hargobind sent Baba Gurditta to Goindwal,[17] as he felt that the battle with Gherar and the Imperialists at his back would be severe and a prolonged one. He went with a small detachment, and personally tried to reason with the proud and vain Bhagwan Das, but he took all peace overtures to be signs of the Guru's weak military strength. A skirmish ensued in which the bigoted Bhagwan Das was killed, and his army given a crushing defeat[18]. Guru Hargobind occupied the city. Bhagwan Das's son Ratan Chand joined hands with Karam Chand, son of Chandu Shah, and moved the Governor of Jullundur to attack Guru Hargobind and take him dead or alive to the Emperor and so win his favour. Abdulla Khan, the Governor of Jullundur, attacked Guru Hargobind with the largest available forces at his command. The battle lasted three days. The Guru lost some of his valiant soldiers in the battle, but he killed Abdulla, his leading generals, and the two notorious sons, Karam Chand and Ratan

Chand, of the two notorious fathers, Chandu Shah and Bhagwan Das. When the news of the Guru's victory reached Goindwal and Amritsar there was great rejoicing. Sikhs all over India felt absolute freedom from fear. Baba Buddha and Bhai Gurdas personally went to Hargobindpur to congratulate the Guru for his glorious victory. Guru Hargobind ordered the reconstruction of the city in which a mosque was built for the Muslims and a *mandir* for the Hindu citizens of the city. Wazir Khan, the Viceroy of Punjab, sent some envoys to investigate into the matter, and they reported that the trouble was caused by those who had been justly punished. When Wazir Khan came to know that even a mosque had been built by the Guru at his own expense, he was very pleased.[19]

Guru Hargobind stayed at this place, going now and then to the neighbouring cities and villages on brief missionary journeys, for about a year and a half. During this period Baba Tegh Bahadur and Baba Gurditta were at Goindwal anxiously completing their military and spiritual training with the zeal to participate in some battle soon and take up active missionary work. Then came the happy news that Guru Hargobind was coming to Amritsar about a month before Diwali and the family had been asked to reach Amritsar as soon as possible.[20]

All the children met Guruji with affectionate embraces, and Baba Tegh Bahadur was received by him with special adoration and paternal love.[21] Guruji stayed at Amritsar for another year and a half and during this period a number of things happened which not only left a lasting impression on the minds of Tegh Bahadur and Baba Gurditta but were landmarks in Sikh history.

It was the winter of the year 1631 A.D. and Baba Tegh Bahadur was ten years old, when Bhai Buddha invited Guruji, his family and all prominent Sikhs to visit his village Ramdas, about twenty-seven miles from Amritsar. Guru Hargobind touched the feet of the sage and then Bhai Gurdas and the Guru's children prostrated themselves before him in humble salutation. Guru Hargobind then seated Bhai Buddha by his side, a unique honour for a disciple, who for six generations had performed the coronation ceremony of all the Gurus. The recitation of the hymns had been arranged and a great

feast had been prepared for all. Baba Buddha then sent for his son Bhai Bhana, and holding his hand said to the Guru: "I am now leaving my body according to the Will of God. Here is my son whom I leave at your feet to do the same service I have been doing. Be ever gracious unto him and treat him as your own son." Deeply moved, Guru Hargobind took Bhai Bhana's hand in his own, and assured the sage apostle Baba Buddha, that Bhai Bhana would receive the same respect and love from him which he had been receiving from all the Gurus.[22] Bhai Buddha then recited his prayers, and touching the feet of the Guru with his forehead for the last time, went into *Nirvana Samadhi,* and left for his heavenly home.[23] Guru Hargobind procured sandalwood for his pyre and lighted the pyre with his own hands. It is said, two large tears rolled down the cheeks of the Guru as the flames went up. Baba Tegh Bahadur witnessed with calm detachment and suppressed sorrow the grand end of his teacher who initiated him into the world of knowledge and wisdom.

There also came during this period Baba Sri Chand, the illustrious son of Guru Nanak, to Amritsar and made an unusual request. He confessed that being inclined towards ascetic life he had taken up Guru Nanak's garb of a recluse (*Udasi*) which his father wore during his travels, because without this garb he could not have easy excess to the holy places. He had preached the philosophy of Guru Nanak as he understood it and as he wished it to be. But after a century of preaching and teaching he had not been able to create a worthy successor to his own thoughts. He now asked Guru Hargobind to give him one of his sons, to organise his followers into a band of missionaries of Guru Nanak's philosophy, working under the direct guidance and instructions of the Guru and the Sikh Panth. He however said that these newly organised missionaries should wear the same dress of the *Udasi* followers of Guru Nanak as he was wearing. Guru Hargobind told Sri Chand that he had five sons, out of which one was dead. He would present all the four sons next morning and he could select any one of them to inherit his rosary (*seli*) and the robe.[24]

There was a flutter in the hearts of all the sons of Guruji. Who would be selected? Would he have to lead the ascetic life Sri Chand had been leading? Dressed in royal princely

dresses, with swords buckled on the side, they all went to Sri Chand, bowed in reverence and stood before him, willing to obey their father's command to be dedicated to the *Udasi* mission. Sri Chand looked at them and as his glance passed from the eldest, Baba Gurditta, to the youngest, Baba Tegh Bahadur, for a minute he felt, it was not easy to decide, as each reflected an attractive and radiant personality capable of taking up any task. But as he looked at Baba Gurditta closely, he saw in his face the sharp and glowing features of his father, Guru Nanak.[25] He stood and moved and spoke very much like him. "Well, noble Hargobindji," said Sri Chand, "You have wonderful children, and each so well trained, that each reflects remarkable spirituality. Let your crown prince be my crown prince. Young Baba Gurditta will inherit my *seli* (rosary) and my robe."

The ceremony was duly performed. Sri Chand expressed his last wishes, that the *Udasis* were to be organised mainly for missionary purposes, and they were to remain as loyal devotees of all the subsequent Gurus. Thus Sri Chand, the ascetic, passed on the torch of Guru Nanak's Light which he had inherited and kept burning, in his own individualistic way through austerities, penance, and *yoga-sadhana*, to a householder and a soldier. Sri Chand was 137 years old while Baba Gurditta was only eighteen. A month later Sri Chand passed away in peace and glory.[26]

One day Guru Hargobind suddenly expressed his desire to go to Goindwal. Only he and Bhai Gurdas knew the mystery of this unexpected departure for the ancestral home.[27] Guru Hargobind and Bhai Gurdas rode side by side and first reached Khadur. They paid homage to all the shrines and met the descendants of Guru Angad Dev. They then reached Goindwal by the evening. Baba Sundar, Baba Parmanand and Baba Sawan Mal were surprised by this unexpected visit, but they were very happy. Baba Tegh Bahadur and other children of the Guru were delighted to be back in their ancestral home where they had spent a happy year and a half. Bhai Gurdas was in a strange reminiscent mood. Here he was born and named Gurdas (servant of the Guru) by his uncle Guru Amar Das. Here he spent the happiest moments of his life, playing and studying with Guru Arjan. Here he saw emperors, princes, peasants and artisans,

poets and artists, rebels and recluses coming in a never-ending stream for peace, light and enlightenment. He bowed in utter reverence before every little spot that awakened in him the sweet memories of his beloved uncle, Guru Amar Das, his brother-in-law Guru Ram Das and his nephew, (sister's son) Guru Arjan. He then came to the place where both Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das had breathed their last, and he announced that according to the Will of God, he was leaving his body and blending his spirit with that of his beloved Masters.[29] He sat in meditation in the holy presence of the Guru and recited the *Japji* and the *Sukhmani* in a very melodious voice.[30] Even while he was reciting these prayers, Baba Tegh Bahadur wondered, that soon the sweet voice of his beloved teacher would be heard no more. The philosopher who had given the best philosophic treatise (*the Vars*); the mystic, who had given a remarkable exposition of Sikh mysticism (the *Kabit Swayas*); the poet and revolutionary, whose genius and inspiration was boundless, and whose works were called the Key to *Adi Granth,* would soon leave for his eternal home, and he would forever be deprived of his personal guidance and enlightenment.

After completing his last prayers, Bhai Gurdas bowed in deep reverence before the Guru, who held his hands in his own and embraced him. Guruji asked him, if he had any last wishes to be fulfilled. "Yes Exalted One", he said, "All your life you have given me the greatest love and affection and I carry the Light of your love and blessings with me to my eternal Home. I need nothing more, either here in this world or in the next. Please do not build any memorial of brick and mortar in my name. Please do not preserve my ashes in a sepulchre (*Samadhi*)."[31] Guru Hargobind was deeply moved and pleased. "Your life O Bhai Gurdas," he said, "has been that of an ideal Sikh, your last wishes are those of an ideal Sikh. Blessed is your coming to this earth. Blessed be the noblest deeds you have performed. Blessed be your great wisdom and spirituality which will live for ages and ages. Your name, your writings, and your inspiration will give spiritual enlightenment for many generations to come, and you will always be remembered with the respect due to the wisest sages on this earth.[32]

Bhai Gurdas' body was placed in an open coffin and Guru Hargobind was one of the four who carried it on his shoulders. others being Bhai Bhana, Bhai Bidhi Chand and Bhai Jaita.[33] Baba Tegh Bahadur and Baba Suraj Mal waved the *chowri* as a mark of reverence to the apostle's body that enshrined a great soul.[34] The body was placed on the sandalwood pyre and Guru Hargobind lighted it himself.[35] The next morning the ashes were collected and mingled in the flowing waters of the river. Immediately after they came to Amritsar the reading of the *Adi Granth* was started by Bhai Bidhi Chand and the Bhog ceremony performed on the fourteenth day.[35] Thus lived and passed away Bhai Gurdas[36] whose life and teachings left an unforgettable impression on the young and tender mind of Tegh Bahadur.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] (i) Tarn Taran isnān kar punā Khadur nihār.
Gurbilās Pāt: VI

(ii) Guru Arjan Sahib ne piṅd Kharā ate Palāsaur dī zamīn ik lakh satvañja hazār nū kharīd ke Tarn Tāran tāl 17 Visākh saṁbat 1647 nū khūdvāyā. (tāl dī lambāī cuḍāī, 999×990 ft. hai.
Kahan Singh : *Mahān Kosh*

(iii) The Guru having no business at Jhabal went with his family to visit Tarn Taran. The Guru after admiring the tank and blessing the memory of Guru Arjan proceeded to Goindwal.
Macauliffe : *"The Sikh Religion"* Vol. IV p 95

[2] Guru Arjan Dev dā jārī kitā is thān kuśtīan dā āsram hai, ise kāran Tarn Taran de nāl dukh nivāran viśesan lāya jāṅdā hai.
Kahan Singh : *Mahan Kosh.*

[3] *Gurbilās Pat: VI.*

[4] Mata Virāī was told by Guru Nānak that his successor would come and stay at Khadur.

[5] Goindwal was situated on G. T. Road at that time, and Bernier calls it the second largest city of Punjab, next in importance only to Lahore.
"Sri Guru Hargobind ulaṅghe paṅth asekh
pahuṅce Goindwāl tab catur ghati din sekh.
Sūraj Prakāsh: Rās 6, *Aṅsū* 20

[6] Baba Sunder was the son of "Anand" in whose memory Guru Amar Das composed his "Anand Sahib". He was a poet and one of his compositions the Sad, is preserved in Adi Granth.

[7] Sawan Mal was the nephew of Guru Amar Das and one of

the first trained missionaries to be sent outside Punjab. The Rajas of Hill states were deeply impressed by his spiritual greatness and after listening to his sermons they came to meet Guru Amar Das.

[8] (a) taj taj nij nij kāj sidhāe,
keh gur darśehṅ daurat āe.
Gurbilās Pāt : VI.

(b) turk mār Gur ihāṅ āyo
'tat chin daure taj sabh kājā
'karīe dars garīb nivājā
Suraj Prakash : Ras 6 Ansu 20.

[9] gur sthān jeh jeh tum lehio
teh teh cal kar dars karāvo,
jim jim bhae prasaṅg sunāvo.

[10] kutaṁb hamārā ehthā rahe,
tum anaṅd sad man mo lahe,
hamne karne kāj anekā,
tum man dharo sadā bibekā.
... ...
tab lau satgur āe tahān
Kaulāṅ basat rain din jahān
Kaulāṅ sune āe Gur tābhī
bhūlī nij sarīr sudh sabhī
Gurbilās Pāt : VI.

[11] biyog dī bihārī nāl murjhāi hoi bel vāṅg lācār sī, barkhā sārkhā gurūjī dā didār pā ke tehki tāṅ āff par same de a jān karke 5 sāvan saṁbat 1686 nū deh tyāg ke parlok nū gaī.
Gyani Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā.*

kitak der meh hāth nikāre
caran kamal parsat hit dhāre,
bahī bilocan te jal dhārā
dhar dhīraj bāk ucārā.
kaun prabhū tum bin hai merā,
sukh dukh bikhe alaṁbh baderā.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 6 Aṅsū 22

[12] ur meh brit tikī sukh pāvā
tat chin nij sarūp darsāvā,
guru kripā te thā brahm gyān,
les nā rāg dvekh mad mān.
ibid Rās 6 Aṅsū 24.

[13] sok thān baiṭhe gur tīr,
āyo Painda Khān bad bīr,
"hāe Māt", keh uc pukārā
de dhīraj satgur nivārā.
ibid.
Paiṅde Khān tab roe pukārī
"hāe Māt" tum kahān sidhāri.
Gurbilās : pat VI.

[14] According to *Sūraj Prakāsh* she was cremated but according to *Gurbilās Patshāhī VI* she was buried. Her tomb or samadhī can still be seen. The Sikh Gurus did not object to the burying of the dead bodies of their Muslim disciples. As a matter of fact, whether the Muslim disciple was to be buried or cremated was left either to the relatives of the person or was done according to the last wishes of the devotee.

Kaulāṅ dafan kī agyā laī,
gor karī teh madh dabāī
bagh bic gur tabī suāī.

Gurbilās : pat VI.

[15] Bhagwan Das Gherar jo es des dā sardār sāhi mālguzār, Diwan Chandu Lal dā riśtedār sī os ne Hargobindpura apne kabze vic kar rakhyā sī ; kioṅke ik tāṅ yārāṅ baras tak oh piṅd banh ke khabar nā laī ; te dūsre Gherar ne sociā, ke Bādśāh nāl Guru dī bigḍī hoī hai, mainū kisne puchnā hai ; es hausle nū pā Guruji dā piṅd dab baiṭhā sī.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarīkh Gurukhālsā* p 235.

See also *Ithas Guru Khalsa* by Sadhu Govind Singh.

[16] Sri Gobindpur Town : situated on the banks of the river Beas, a place of great sanctity amongst the Sikhs, having been founded by Guru Arjan, who bought the site and built a town, which he called after his son and successor Hargobind.

Gurdaspur District Gazetteer 1884 p 100

[17] Srī Gurdittā nikat nihārā
param prem te bāk ucārā,
Goindwāl āp cal jāvo
milo kutaṁb mod man pāvo.
nij mātā aur bhrātan saṅg
so tuv heran cāhat aṅg.

Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 6 Aṅsū 26

[18] "jioṅ jioṅ Guru Sāhib os nū dhīraj nāl samjhāvan tioṅ oh ucā hundā jāe ; odar Guru Sahīb dā rukh dekh ke Bhai Bidhi Chand ādik Bahadurāṅ ne hath uṭhāe te das bīs fatkāe, te jehḍe āe se jāṅde nā disāe ; te Gherḍe nū mār ke daryā di bhetā kītā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 23

[19] "piṅd dī abādī kītī, ek masīīt sarāe, musalmānā vāste, ik dharamsāla sivdwāla hinduāṅ vāste, ik sarāe musāfraṅ vāste banāī.

ibid.

ek masjīd bhī banvā dī, us ke pās ek sarāe dharamsālā tyār karvā dī ; aur vahāṅ pār ek sadāvart laṅgar bhī garīb logāṅ ke vāste jārī karvāyā.

Sadhu Govind Singh: *Ithās Guru Khālsā*

[20] dīpmāl ko divas tab āe, smīp pachān
srī Amritsar dars ko ichā bhaī mahān
Sunder ko leh saṅg bulāe,

calo Sudhāsar kare bulāvan
sun sagle bhe harkhāvan
sabh kutaṁbh le Suṅder saṅg
gamne mārag caḍhe turaṅg,
āe Sudhāsar vikhe pravese.

Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 6 *Aṅsū* 6

21 srī Gurditte baṅdan kīn
Sūraj Mal Anī Rāe prabīn,
priye sut catur pikhe teh samo,
Tegh Bahādur aṅk uṭhāe,
pikhyo pitā Viro prabh āe.
im sabhan ko daras dikhāvā
dekh dekh sabh mod upāva.

ibid.

22 Babe Buddhe ais ucārī
tum ho kripā siṅdh avtārī,
mam sut bahn gaho sukh pāe,
Sāhib Bhanu tabe bulāe ;
Sahib Bhanu hath geh sauṅpan gur ko kīn,
dhyasiṅdh kar pakaḍ kai sīs dhar nij līn.
Guru Nānak te ad läu kirpā kar jas moh,
taise kirpā is par karo Sāhib Bhanu toh.

Gurbilās pāt : VI

23 Sāhib Buddhe harkh sioṅ pritham bandnā kīn,
caran baṅd gur chatam ke tat chin tyārī kīn,
kusādar āsan kioṅ navam duār ko sādh,
dasam duār pranā lage param smādh agādh.
cikhā upar jabhī dharī Sāhib Buddhe deh,
Hargobind ke nain te calyo nīr saneh.

ibid.

24 kahu purkhā ketak haiṅ naṅd,
tab bole Srī Hargobiṅd :
paṅc hute ik bhā parlokeh
catar āp ko daras biloke,
kehio Srī Chand ik ham deho
apar apne saṅg rakheho.
sun kar Gur Srī Hargobiṅd
bad sut arpyo tab Srī Chaṅd.

Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 7 *Aṅsū* 9

Sri Chaṅd ne os vakat selī cola apnā libās Gurditte jī nū pehnā ke bacan kitā : tuhādā tikā so sāda tikā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā,* p 236.

25 "On a Wednesday night when the moon was full, in the month of *Kārtik,* Sambat 1670 (1613 A.D) she gave birth to a son who was afterwards named Gurditta, and who bore a remarkable likeness to Guru Nānak.

Macauliffe : *The Sikh Religion* Vol. IV p 56

26 The date of Sri Chand's death is given by some as very early and by others as very late. Following the sequence of events

it falls in Sambat 1688, A.D. 1631. Kahan Singh Nabha in his Mahan Kosh gives 1694 Sambat, 1637 A.D. This date is quite improbable because during the year 1637 A.D. Guru Hargobind was at Kiratpur. Almost all historical records put this event after the battle of Hargobindpur, and before leaving for Kartarpur. So the probable date of Sri Chand's death given by some historical records is 1631 A.D. According to this date of death Sri Chand died at the age of 137 years.

27 Goindwalpurī ko cāle
sakal kutaṁb jino ke nāle,
catur ghatī din pahuṅce jāe
dhig bāpī ke sivār lagāe.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 7 *Aṅsū* 14

28 kar majan ko gae cubāre
sarb sthān bandnā dhāre,
ibid.

29 tab Gurdās jor kar kehio
prān aṅt mai apno lehio.
ibid.
Hargobind ke pag lagā,
briti kinī ais ras pagā
he prabh aṅt samā mam āyo,
paṅc Guru mam daras dhikāyo,
ab hauṅ dhām Gurū ke jāūṅ
he Gur tumrī ais pāūṅ.
Gurbilās patśāhi VI

30 bhogh Sukhmanī kā tab pāyo,
pad paṅkaj ke Gur laptāyo
Bhai ke tab prān bilāe,
gur pag sīs bhag bad gāe ;
ibid.
Japjī paṭh Sukhmanī kīn
nāmo thaṅ gur dhyān su līn
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 7 *Aṅsū* 14

31 (a) dharo bhasam bipāsa māhī
meri madī kijīe nāhi.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 7 *Aṅsū* 14

(b) The house, the well, and the Samādhi of Bhai Gurdas are situated just behind the Guru's residence. The old building has been demolished and while constructing the new building the S.G.P.C. has carelessly annihilated the Samādhi of the leading apostle of Sikh history.

32 Sri Hargobind caṅd alāyo,
dhan janam tumro jag āyo ;
meh maṅdal meh jas visthārā
pāe param gat paṅth padhārā,
ciraṅkāl tero reh nāmū
jāneh Gurupaṅth abhirāmū.
ibid

[33] ek or Bhānā, Guru, lāge
Bidhiā Jeṭhā bib ras pāge,
cāron līe bibān uṭhāe
āge Bābak śabad alāe.
Gurbilās pātśāhī VI

[34] Gur sut upar caur dhurāvai,
aur dās bauh saṅkh bajāvai.
ibid.

[35] kar apne gur lambū lāyo
Sūraj Prakāsh: Rās 7 *Aṅsū* 14

[36] Sūraj Prakash gives the 14th day of the Bhog ceremony while *Gurbilās pātśāhī* gives 13th day of the Bhog ceremony. Both say that Bhai Bidhi Chand was asked to do the reading.

[37] Different historians give different dates of the death of Bhai Gurdās. *Gurbilās pāt: VI* gives Saṁbat 1686, A.D. 1629. Sant Sampuran Singh gives 1687 S.B. 1630 A.D. These dates cannot be accepted because Bhai Gurdas was alive during these years. *Jiwan Baba Buddha* gives 1694 B.S. 1637 A.D. Kahan Singh in *Mahan Kosh* also gives 1637 A.D. but during this year Guru Hargobind was at Kiratput, while Bhai Gurdas passed away before Guruji went to Kiratpur. So the probable last year of Bhai Gurdas is 1631, after the death of Bhai Buddha, or early in the year 1632 A.D.

CHAPTER VI

AT DAROLI AND KARTARPUR

HAPPINESS and sorrow came like light and shadow around Baba Tegh Bahadur. He felt all the strings of his life tuned for a higher purpose and destiny. Each storm, that came like a whirlwind, bringing death to many, ended in the peace and sunshine of a golden dawn. The world outside him and the world inside him were moving as a visible panorama. Death lingered around him, and chased his dearest kith and kin, his most revered teachers and guides, like the night chasing the day. The stream of truth flowered undisturbed, though the forest of errors, conflicts, and strife raged around him. His mind was concentrated on this stream of truth, and daily he sat in a meditation cell, contemplating and reflecting over its future course.

Baba Tegh Bahadur was now ten years old. His brother Suraj Mal was happily married. His brother Baba Gurditta had a son who was named Dhirmal.[1]

From Daroli Guru Hargobind received an invitation from his sister-in-law Ramo and her devout husband Sain Das. At this time Raja Kalyan Chand, the ruler of Bilaspur State, then known as Kahlur State, also invited the Guru. Guru Hargobind was attracted to Kiratpur in this State because of another reason. A great Muslim Saint, Pir Budhan Shah, who had met Guru Nanak, was anxiously waiting for the sixth Guru, whose arrival just before his death had been promised by Guru Nanak himself. Assuring Raja Kalyan Chand that he would come later, Guru Hargobind sent Baba Gurditta with his family to Kiratpur. Baba Gurditta was instructed to pay homage to Pir Budhan Shah, buy land, and build a Sikh shrine and houses for the forthcoming visit of the Guru.[2] Guru Hargobind then moved to Daroli, where Sain Das and Bibi Ramo received him with great joy and honour. Elaborate arrangements were made for their stay and comforts. Hindus and Muslims of the neighbouring area flocked to the place to pay homage to the Guru. The Guru had already sent *Hukamnamas* (letters) to all the Sikh *Sangats* abroad, to send weapons and horses. Two remarkable horses which a party was bring-

ing from Kabul were forcibly seized by some Mughal Officers and presented to Shah Jahan. Bidhi Chand, who had for long led the Bohemian life of a Robin Hood and social rebel, promised to get the horses back. By a feat which was romantically daring, he was able to get the horses out of the Emperor's stable, and he restored them to the owners who offered them to the Guru.[3]

Guru Hargobind's stay at Daroli was a very happy one, and the children enjoyed it most. But the happiness was marred by two unhappy events. After a short illness Holy Mother Damodri, Guru Hargobind's first wife and the mother of Baba Gurditta, breathed her last. Her sister Ramo was so deeply shocked by the untimely death of her sister that she languished in utter grief and died within a month.

One day the Guru addressed his Sikhs : "Brethren, dearer to me than life are you, my thousand brave men. Shall we remain here or proceed to spread our Faith ?" A Sikh replied. "O my Lord, show thyself where the devout and grateful think of thee and await thee." The Guru beat the drum of departure,[4] whereat the people of Daroli were very much grieved, and feared that they would have no one to protect them. The Guru consoled them and moved on to Kangar, a village owned by a Muslim landlord, Rai Jodh, whose wife was a devout admirer of the Sikh Faith. Upset by the disappearance of the horses, the Emperor ordered General Lal Beg to lead an expedition against the Guru. A spy named Hasan Khan was dispatched to make a reconnaissance. The spy was deeply impressed by the fact that the Guru was equally revered by the Muslims, and the Muslims of that area were prepared to die for him. From his suspicious movements he was caught spying, and he confessed that though his mission was to secure information for the Mughal General he would now give them all the information they needed, and even prevent the attack if possible. But he did not succeed in his mission in persuading Lal Beg not to attack, so he came and joined the Guru's forces, even though Malik Rai Jodh resented that a spy of the enemy camp should find a place in the Guru's army.

Malik Rai Jodh's wife devised a novel way of detecting the movements of the enemy forces. She put some pearls in a tray and the tramp of the feet of the approaching army

caused the pearls to vibrate. On the Guru's side now stood Rai Jodh with his one thousand Muslim warriors and Bidhi Chand and Jati Mal, the commanders of the Guru's army. A deadly battle ensued. It lasted nearly eighteen hours. The Imperialists were routed. Many lives were lost on both sides. The booty of the battle was distributed among the poor. The Guru's bard Abdulla composed a dirge on the battle.

Guru Hargobind then went to Kartarpur. Rai Jodh and his wife wanted to accompany him and remain in his service, but the Guru persuaded them not to do so, but to look after their people well. He blessed them and told them that the House of the Guru and his Sikhs would always treat them and their descendants with special affection for the love and devotion he had shown, and the help he had rendered in defeating the Imperial forces.

At Daroli Guru Hargobind had received the news of the birth of Hari Rai, the second son of Baba Gurditta. The Guru now asked Baba Gurditta to come to Kartarpur. Disciples began to pour in from far and near for spiritual enlightenment. Under the guidance of the Guru, Baba Gurditta reorganised the whole *Udasi* system into four major Centres (called Hearths) and six Sub-Centres each called (*Bakhshish* : the gift). Baba Tegh Bahadur was now anxious to fight in the next battle, and so was Baba Gurditta, even though he had taken up the leadership of the *Udasis.*

Ani Rai who spent a very silent and meditative life, completely detached and disinterested from the world around him, fell ill and passed away. The loss of the second brother deeply affected the tender soul of Baba Tegh Bahadur.

Painda Khan now wanted to marry his daughter to a young man named Osman Khan. Guru Hargobind gave all the expenditure necessary for the marriage and sent innumerable gifts for the girl. Osman Khan was also a soldier, but his greedy and avaricious nature made him a source of trouble and embarrassment to Painda Khan. He went out hunting with Baba Gurditta and Tegh Bahadur. He became very intimate with them and by playing upon their tender affection he acquired many gifts from them.

The *Baisakhi* festival and annual gathering of the Sikhs was approaching. On that day Sikhs from far and near brought presents and gifts for the Guru, and they were distri-

buted to the deserving disciples and soldiers. A Sikh named Chatar Sain brought a horse of rare beauty, a hawk, a soldier's dress and some rare weapons. Guru Hargobind gave the hawk to Baba Gurditta but he gave the horse, the dress and the weapons to Painda Khan, whom he loved almost as his son. Painda Khan put on the dress and the arms and looked very magnificent when he rode the horse. The Guru was delighted to see his outstanding warrior honoured and happy, and he asked Painda Khan to appear daily in the same style with the same weapons.[7]

When he went home and showed them to his wife she was delighted, but his son-in-law Osman Khan insisted that Painda Khan should give those gifts to him, which of course he sternly refused. The covetous Osman Khan did not rest till he had stolen the dress and weapons from his father-in-law's house. Painda Khan was wild with rage, but when he went to Osman Khan's house to teach him a lesson, his daughter begged him not to fight for a mere dress and weapons. After all he was his son-in-law, and her life would become miserable if he took vengeance on her. Painda Khan reconciled himself to the ugly situation. Whenever Guru Hargobind asked him why he did not wear the dress and arms he had given him, he put the matter off by saying that he had reserved it for special occasions.

The next mischief Osman Khan did was that he stole Baba Gurditta's hawk, in the hope of getting a rich reward for it from the Emperor. Baba Gurditta came to know for certain that the hawk had been stolen by Osman Khan. Painda Khan was informed about it, and in a fit of anger he went home to find out the truth. To his amazement he found the hawk there. Determined to return it to the Guru, he seized the hawk but was prevented from moving out of the house by his villainous son-in-law. All the entreaties of Painda Khan failed to persuade Osman Khan to return the Guru's hawk. On the other hand his son-in-law, joined by his daughter and wife, argued that the Guru had tremendous faith in his word. If he told him that the hawk was not in Osman's house Guruji would forget all about it. With his son-in-law, his daughter, and wife pitted against him, Painda Khan went to the Guru and told him a lie. Guru Hargobind asked him to say on oath that he had not found the hawk in the house of Osman Khan.

Painda Khan repeated what he had said on oath. Guruji asked Bidhi Chand to go and search Osman Khan's house and find out the truth. Within an hour Bidhi Chand recovered the hawk and the gifts which the Guru had given, from Osman Khan's house. For this unashamed perjury Guruji dismissed him from service, in the hope that he would repent, and dis-associate himself from the mischievous activities of his son-in-law.[3]

Painda Khan felt slighted. His sense of humiliation was further goaded on by the wild and villainous promptings of his son-in-law, who assured him that if a brave warrior like him helped the Imperial forces he would be serving the cause of his King and his faith, Islam. The vain and dejected Painda Khan was made to believe, that whereas three attacks by the Imperial forces had failed to curb and control the Guru, his master plan and attack on him was bound to succeed, because he knew the secrets, the strength, and the military strategy of the Guru's army.

With these aggressive and treacherous designs he approached Qutab Khan, the Subedar of Jullundur. Qutab Khan knew that the Guru fought with superhuman strength and strategy, and he had thrice defeated the Mughal armies, three times as large as his own. So he advised Painda Khan to be cautious and not to drive him to ruin. He was any way not prepared to attack without sufficient help and the support of the Emperor from Lahore.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] Kahan Singh in *Mahan Kosh* gives birthday of Dhirmal : year 1626. Macauliffe gives 1629 A.D. In 1626 A.D. Baba Gurditta was only 13 years old and his wife might be 11 or 12 at the most. It is unbelievable that they had a son at this age. The probable year of his birth is 1629 or still more probable 1631 A.D. Similarly the date given by *Sūraj Parkāsh* of the birth of Hari Rai the second son of Baba Gurditta (1627 A.D.) is incorrect at the very face of it. Hari Rai was born either in 1630 or 1631 A.D.

[2] Gyani Gyan Singh, *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsa,* p : 241.

[3] A very elaborate and detailed account of the recovery of these horses is given by *Sūraj Parkāsh* and *Gurbilās Pātśāhī* VI.

[4] Macauliffe : *The Sikh Religion* Vol. IV, p 152.

[5] Date of the battle: 16th Maghar Sambat 1688, A.D. 1631.
"The place where the battle was fought is now called Gurusar or the Guru's Tank. It lies near the village Nathana about three miles from Rampura Phul railway station."

Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV, p 187.
Guru Hargobind brought all the wounded soldiers of the Mughal army to his camp and after treating them set them free. They went back and spoke very highly of the Guru's compassion and heroism.

Gyan Singh: Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā, p 241.

[6] Guruji masaṅdā nū siropāo te satkār de kar Kartarpur ā ṭhehre, es sāl Suraj Mal dā viāh hoyā te Anī Rai dā calānā hoyā.

Gyan Singh, *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 242.

[7] Srī Gurū asp nihār kai bāj set pun pekh,
khaṅdā pekh puśāk tab man mai kīn alekh;
karat vicār ais man cīno
daī āis yāṅ ko kar dhār,
bhor jāe tum kheḍ sikār;
dekho kare cot eh kaisī,
Babe kahā kao ruc jaisī;
Painde ko de hai dariyāī,
siṅdh put chab kahī na jāi;
jut puśāk cir teh dīno
deh khaṅdā teh anaṅd kīno,
bahur Srimukh ais alāie,
odho aṅg na der lagāi,

Gurbilās Patśahī VI.

[8] Gurujī ne os nū (Osman Khan) paṅj din kaid kar ke chad dita, te Painde Khān dī naukrī bhī hatāī.
Gurujī imprisoned Osman Khan for five days and dismissed Painde Khan from service.

Gyan Singh, *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 242.

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE AND HEROISM

AT Kartarpur there lived a well-to-do and pious couple, Lal Chand and his wife Bishan Kaur. They had one son, Kirpal Chand, and one daughter, Gujari. Both of them had a deep desire that their son should become a soldier in the army of the Guru, while their daughter should be married to one of the Guru's sons.

When Guru Hargobind went to Kartarpur to marry his son, Suraj Mal, to the daughter of Prem Chand, this couple saw young Baba Tegh Bahadur, who being the best man of his brother sat behind the bridegroom on the bridal horse and on all ceremonial occasions. Now, when Guru Hargobind came to Kartarpur, he was almost a budding youth. Holy Mother Nanaki had the opportunity to see the girl. The engagement ceremony[1] was solemnised and the date of the marriage was fixed.

Gujari was slim, young and lovely as the goddess of the dawn when she stands, rosefingered, smiling upon the mountain peak. She was pure in health and person, constant and faithful, cheerful evening and morning, full of dignity and grace, charm and sweetness. Among her companions, she moved as the queen swan leading the flotilla, with stately neck, and yet bowed in humility. She spoke little, and at times words lingered like hovering birds on her sweet lips and her fine brow drew together in a deeply meditative mood. Her whole beauty, and personality, were the blend of a princess and a *yogin,* very much as Tegh Bahadur's young and handsome body reflected the personality of a crown prince and a *yogi* who had renounced all, and lived in the joy of godliness.

The date of marriage was fixed. All the relatives came three days earlier to participate in the marriage. Baba Sunder and Parmanand from Goindwal, the sons of Datu and Dasu from Khadur, Bhai Bhana from Ramdas, Rai Jodh the Muslim chief of Malwa and his devout wife, Bhai Rupa, Sadhu and others, came with rich gifts and presents. Rai Jodh and his wife had developed a deep affection for Baba Tegh

Bahadur and Baba Gurditta. They brought princely gifts for the bride and the bridegroom.[2]

On the wedding day Baba Tegh Bahadur was dressed in colourful silken uniform. In the splendour of the armour jewelled and inlaid with gold, and swords that flashed like lightning from the rifts of cloudy mountains, Tegh Bahadur looked like a young knight ready to redeem a beauty. Young he was, and slender, and like an image of pure gold, his calm abstracted eyes reflecting his inner poise and serenity. His lips and cheeks seemed to be engraved by a great graver.[3] After his sister Bibi Viro had embraced him, kissed him, blessed him, and put the collyrium in his eyes, she led him to the bridal horse, which was to lead the wedding procession.

All the way was strewn with flowers, as though the spirits of the air had rained them with both hands upon the glad earth, and from their bruised beauty was shed such sweetness on the dew that the fragrance rose like incense to greet the lovely ones on their way.

Gujari stood in her room dressed in rosy bridal dress. Her brother Kirpal stood at a distance watching her in the joy of her approaching wedding mingled with the painful thought of separation from her. Gujari stood there, sweet as the star of evening, bathed in rosy vapours. The rings, the bracelets and her necklace were sparkling with fiery gems. In the solitude of her heart she for the first time felt the drawing near of another. She dreamed of soft spring airs, singing of song birds, and the thrill of life in green silences and all the sweet things of the world.

She turned round and saw her brother Kirpal, happy but shedding an unbroken stream of tears. "Why those tears brother Kirpal she asked." "I can hardly bear the thought; dear sister, that you will go away and I shall be separated from you for ever. With you this house was a paradise, without you what it will be I cannot guess," said Kirpal. Deeply moved, and sobbing with the thought of separation, she embraced her brother and said, "Nothing in the world will be able to separate me from you. As a younger brother you will go with me. You will live close to me as long as I live."

The marriage was solemnised by the High Priest, Bhai Bhana. Money, food and clothes were distributed to the poor. There was great rejoicing throughout the city of Kartarpur.

At night the whole city was a blazing splendour. Lamps were lighted in every home. Fireworks were displayed. And the musicians played on the *shehnai* all night. Prayers were offered for blessings on the couple.[4]

At the departure of the bridal party, Lal Chand and his wife Bishan Kaur came humbly to the Guru and said : "We have been overwhelmed by the honour thou hast done us, O King of kings, by accepting our daughter as bride for your noble son. We have not been able to serve thee as your great royal status deserved. We, being poor, have not been able to give any gifts or dowry befitting the House of the Guru. Pardon our shortcomings, and give thy blessings to my daughter, so that she may prove to be a worthy bride in the House of the great Guru."[5]

Touched by his humility, Guru Hargobind said : "Brother Lal Chand, you have done more than any royal family could do. A man who has given his dearest daughter, has given all ; what more can a man give? Blessed be the child, my daughter-in-law, and may God grant her long life, nobility of the spirit, so that she may do deeds worthy of the House of the Guru. She will receive all our affection and respect."[6]

The bride and bridegroom were ceremoniously received at home by Holy Mother Nanaki, who was overwhelmed with joy. She poured oil on the doorsteps, a Punjabi way of receiving the bride, and the bridegroom, gave them sweets, wishing thereby that no bitterness might come in their life. The bride entered the house with steps as light as the petal. She felt herself to be in a kingdom of perpetual joy. All the guests and neighbouring women presented to her innumerable gifts and blessed her.[7]

Guru Hargobind then concentrated his attention on missionary work and guided Baba Gurditta in giving new impetus to the *Udasi* missionary movement. Incidentally, the four Superiors (Apostles of the Hearth), Almast, Balu Hasna, Phul and Goinda were all Kashmiris, born in Srinagar. The first two and the last two were brothers.[8] During the life time of Sri Chand they had carried the torch of Guru Nanak's faith as far as Uttar Pradesh. Now they were asked to go beyond to far off provinces. Almast went as far as Jagannath Puri and sent his companion Bhai Natha to Dacca, where a Bengali disciple of Guru Hargobind named Bhai Mohan,[8] was keeping

the torch of Guru's doctrines burning. Other young men were sent to Ceylon, Kabul and far north, into the present Russian territories. Amongst these great messengers of faith was a laughing Philosopher, Bhai Suthra, the Touchstone of Sikh history. Every act of his, provoked more laughter than a court clown could ever do. The Guru tolerated all his ironic ways of putting things, and even encouraged the liberty he took in making fun of everybody. In his heart was shining the pure light of God, and every thing he said and did was a sermon in smiles and fun. Everything he said and did, was thought provoking, hitting hard at hypocrisy, and all the social evils.[9]

In the meanwhile Painda Khan was licking his wounds of humiliation and his son-in-law Osman Khan kept on inciting him to take revenge. The Governor of Jullundur was not willing to undertake an expedition, until he had sufficient help from the Emperor. The Emperor was now at Lahore. It was difficult to influence him as long as Wazir Khan was the Viceroy, but now that Wazir Khan had been transferred to Agra,[10] it seemed easier to get military aid from Lahore.

In a devious way he approached the Emperor with the help of Qutab Khan and succeeded in inciting his bitterness to passion. Taking a sword in hand Shah Jahan said: "Is there any one of my officers brave enough to go and assist Painda Khan and subdue the Guru who has caused all the trouble?" Kale Khan, governor of Peshawar, desirous of avenging the fate of his brother, Mukhlis Khan, rose and said : "May it please thy Majesty, I will capture the Guru and bring him before thee". The Emperor gave Kale Khan command of fifty thousand men, and bestowed on him as insignia of his appointment, a necklace of enormous pearls, and a robe of gold lace, and ordered him to proceed forthwith against the Guru.[11] He was accompanied by Anwar Khan, another important general, Qutab Khan, Painda Khan and his son-in-law Osman Khan.

It was the middle of summer in the year 1634 A.D. Guru Hargobind was actually preparing to go to Kiratpur in response to an imploring request from the Muslim Saint, Pir Budhan Shah, and Raja Kalyan Chand, who sent his son Tara Chand to personally invite the Guru. Kalyan Chand feared some trouble from the neighbouring states, and he knew

the very presence of the Guru and his armies would set his enemies at rest.

The Sikhs of Lahore sent a messenger post-haste to the Guru informing him of the approaching Mughal army. Guru Hargobind at once made preparations to meet the Imperialist attack. His Muslim friend and devotee Rai Jodh immediately came in his support with two thousand soldiers. Bidhi Chand, Jati Mal, Lakhu and Rai Jodh were in command of the Sikh army. The army was split into operational battalions, each under one of these commanders and they were posted in such a way that there was not the slightest risk of one single wing of the Guru's army being shattered and driven out of the field by a desperate push of the enemy's full force. Bidhi Chand, Jati Mal and Rai Jodh made a fierce attack on the right and left flanks as well as at the centre, and the battle became a heated contest on the hottest day of the year. For the first time, Baba Gurditta and Baba Tegh Bahadur had got permission from their father to join the battle. Baba Tegh Bahadur joined the rearguard while Baba Gurditta was in the van with Bidhi Chand. Both these young soldiers fought valiantly with the zeal of born warriors entering the battlefield for the first time. Fearlessly they rode into the thick of the battle and using lance, and sword worked havoc in the enemy rank.[12]

Terrible death and destruction was caused on both sides. Kale Khan and Qutab Khan were killed. And then came Painda Khan face to face with Guru Hargobind. Guruji asked him, to charge first, as a superior warrior generally did. He charged like a tiger, but the Guru warded off the attack. He was given another chance to charge. The attack was not only warded off, but Painda Khan lost his sword. Dagger in hand he tried to hold the horse of the Guru and stab him, but the Guru kicked him and threw him on the ground. The compassionate Guru was reluctant to attack the man whom he had brought up and trained and treated like his own son.

Guru Hargobind asked him to pick up his sword and came down from his horse for a hand to hand fight. The furious Pathan seeing his last chance attacked fiercely. Half seriously and half humorously Guruji counter attacked saying : "Not that way, but this way, my man"[13] It appeared that he was giving him a lesson. Actually Guruji still thought that Painda Khan would repent. But who can change the

wheel of fate? "I will not rest", said the Pathan, "till I have killed you and fulfilled my promise to the Emperor". So saying he made a desperate attack. The Guru drew his *khanda* (two edged sword) and struck Painda Khan. He reeled to the ground mortally wounded. Death and defeat stared him in the face and his suffering eyes melted into repentence. Will the Guru deal him another blow? No, the Guru's eyes were once more filled with compassion and he came near him. He shaded his face from the burning heat of the sun with his shield, and asked him to recite the *Kalma,* his last prayer and to think of God. Deeply touched by the Gurus tenderness he said, "Forgive me, Master, your sword is my *kalma.* It has brought home to me, my error, my sin, and surely you will forgive your dear son Painda Khan on whom you have showered countless blessings. Bury me with your own hands Master ; I die in peace because I die in your arms and I die in your gracious love."[14]

Seeing Painda Khan dead, and the Guru sitting near him Osman Khan rushed towards the Guru. Before closing his eyes Painda Khan pointed his finger towards the treacherous attack of Osman Khan. Baba Gurditta discharged an arrow at him which killed him instantly. Finding his old companion Osman Khan dead, Baba Gurditta was deeply moved. The battle was won. The Imperial army was given a crushing defeat. Although many lives were lost on the Guru's side, none of his generals died. The heroism of young Tegh Bahadur received the praise of all.[15] Guru Hargobind had the satisfaction that his son was now both a perfect soldier and a saint. Holy Mother Nanaki was overjoyed when the young warrior came home without a scratch of wound, and was highly praised by all for his feats.

After the last rites of the dead were performed, Guru Hargobind ordered preparations to move to Kiratpur.[16] More than anything else he was anxious to fulfil the wishes of the Muslim saint *Pir* Budhan Shah.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] According to *Sūraj Prakāsh* the engagement was solemnized at Amritsar before Guruji left for Amritsar.

[2] a. yut bhāgan āyo dvārā,
le Rāmā apnī dārā ;

sun Jodh Rai kar gan ko,
subh vast gurū arpan ko;
sun Sādhū Rūpā āyao,
parvār saṅg sabh liyāe.
mil Bhale Trehan briṅde
gur jathā jog sanmāne.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 5.

b. eh bid pur jān pāe sukh at man bhar anaṅd,
mat Nānakī suteh kā āyo biāh dīn kaṅd
Parmānand Sunder āe māgh dins din jāe.

Gurbilās patīśāhi VI.

3 Srī Tegh Bahādur sohe,
nar nar rūp pikh mohe,
sam pit ke dīragh dilan
mukh maṅdal caṅd susfflan
bhuj lambī āyut chatī,
bistīrat aṅkh kich ratī,
jug kaṅdh utaṅg suhāe,
gat maṅd maṅd chab pāe.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 5.

nain apāpar nihār susīleh khaṅjan kaṅj mrig sut hare,
aur bidhūp pikhe adhrā pun daram lājat daṅt nihāre,
kīr au kamb lajāe ghane ban aur tabe man saṅk padhāre,
suṅder rūp kisore ke ūpar das kavī sādhī balhāre.

Gurbilās patśāhī VI.

4 gan bādat dhunī uṭhāle
tab ātaśbāzī chore,
cadh jāt gagan kī ore,
bahū jhār matābff barī,
janū phūl rahī phulvārī.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 6.

5 tab Lal Chand de dājā
bahu bhūkhan bastar smājā,
dhar jathā sakt kar jore,
neh sario kachu dhig more,
ik tanūjā mai hit sevā
arjan kinī gurdevā.

ibid.

6 sun satgur bhae kirpālā,
tum dīno sakal bisālā,
jin tanūjā arpan kīnaṁ,
kiā pāche tin rakh līnaṁ.

ibid.

7 sabh bikhe Nānkī āvei,
sut badhū pikhan lalcāvai;
subh thān biṭhāvan kīnī
triyā herat badhū navīnī,
de dārb sarb hī herai,
mukh karat sarah ghanere.

keh, Tegh Bahādur jorī
bidh racī rucar ruc borī.
ibid.

[8] Sunder Chada Āgre, Dhāke Mohan sev kamānī;
Bhai Gurdas, *Var* 11 : 31

"Bhai Mohan Dhāke huṅdā sff; te sāhib chivīṅ pātśahī de pās asāṅ darśan kītā, ardās kītī: sace patśāh jī, tuhādā autar asān jīāṅ de udhār vāste hoyā hai, asādā janam maran katīai.

Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl.*

[9] For the life and humour of Bhai Suthra, see *Tehkīkāte-Chishti.*

[10] "The Emperor paid a second visit to Kashmir. On his return to the capital of the Punjab, Wazir Khan was appointed Subedar of Agra and joined his new appointment under the orders of His Majesty." (Shah Jahan continued to stay upto the close of 1635 A.D.).

S. M. Latif: *"Lahore"* p 57

[11] Macauliffe: The Sikh Religion Vol: IV p 198

[12] Nanaki watched the battle from the top story of her house. She was delighted as she saw her son Tegh Bahādur, weilding his sword, and dealing out destruction to the enemy. Baba Gurditta, the eldest son, also fought valiantly.

Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion* Vol: IV, p 206

[13] "Having heard from a person named Sadh, that a man attacked the Guru with a sword and the Guru Warding off the blow struck him with his sword and said: "That is not how the sword is used, it is used like this," and with a blow he made an end of the foe. One of the devoteses of the Guru asked the writer of this chronicle, what was the purport of the Guru saying at the time of giving the blow: "See, this is how the wound is inflicted." I answered: "It comes to my mind that the sword blow of the Guru was also by way of teaching, for Guru means a teacher; and not from anger, for that would be a bad thing."

Dabistani-Mazahib.

[14] girān lāge Paiṅdā kehio, Srff Gurū tav tarvār
bhaī rūp kalmā abhe, karīeh moh udhār.
Paindā Khan jab dīn hoe kīnas bāk bikhān
Sri Guru tumre hāth kī misrī kalmā jān.
sunat saneh ride meh āyā,
pritpāryio purb apnāyio.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 28.

"In this place (Kartarpur) also fighting took place. And in that battle Mir Badehra and Painda Khan (son of Fateh Khan Kenda) were killed. And before this and after, many strong armies attacked him, but he escaped

unhurt with the help of God, though he had to leave behind whatever he possessed.

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib.

[15] Some historians believe, that Baba Tegh Bahādur's name upto this time was "Tyāg Mal." On seeing his daring feats in the battle and his heroic exploits which worked havoc in the enemy ranks, Guru Hargobind named him Tegh Bahadur. "Hero with the Sword." The meaning of Tyāg Mal was, "The great Renouncer."

[16] fateh pāňdiāň hī Guruji ne asbāb ladvā kar Karatpur val kūc kar ditā. enāh ladāīnan vic Gurū Sāhib de jān te māl dā nuksān bahut hoyā par Fateh da daňkā Gurū ji de nām par hi hundā rehiā. es karke pher sab dab rahe kise ne sir na uṭhāyā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā* p 244

"In short after the battle of Kartarpur he went to Phagwara. And as his remaining in places near Lahore was difficut, he went to Kiratpur which is within the hilly parts of Punjab.

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib.

CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF AN EPOCH

KIRATPUR is situated in the Bilaspur State,[1] also known as Kahlur State. The ruling family of Kahlur claimed descent from Sisupala, a hero of the Mahabharata, who reigned in Chanderi to the south of Rajputana. Hence they were known as Chandel Rajputs also. The kingdom was founded by Bir Chand, the builder of Nainadevi temple, and while this ruler was expanding his kingdom, the Raja of Sirmur checked his expansion. Raja Kahal Chand, the sixth of the line, built Kot Kahlur and the State subsequently derived its name from this ancient citadel.

Kahan Chand, the eleventh Raja, had three sons, Ajit Chand, Ajai Chand and Tegh Chand. On their father's death they attacked and dispossessed the neighbouring Brahmin ruler, Thakur Handu, of his kingdom. Ajit Chand was installed in hs place and founded the present ruling dynasty of Handur, later named Nalagarh after its capital.

The Rajas of this State were rebellious, and generally disregarded the orders of the Delhi rulers. Abhai Chand the twenty-first Raja (1302-1317), warded off the attack of the Muslim army but was subsequently trapped and murdered by the generals of a relieving force. His death, however, was avenged by his son, after a battle lasting several days. His grandson Ratan Chand had more pleasant connections with the Delhi court. He received a reward of a lakh and quarter rupees from the Emperor.

Gyan Chand, the twenty-seventh Raja of the State, quarrelled with the Muslim Governor of Sirhind and being defeated in the battle was forced to embrace Islam. He married the Governor's daughter, whose descendants were the only Muslims in the State, when Hargobind went there.[2] Gyan Chand's tomb can still be seen in Kiratpur. Bikram Chand (1555-1593 A.D.), his son by his Hindu wife, won his inheritance by fighting a battle with his Muslim brothers. He abdicated during his lifetime in favour of his son Sultan Chand, who had in his turn to fight for the kingdom with his own half-brothers.

Sultan Chand was succeeded by his son Kalyan Chand who was the ruler when Guru Hargobind arrived there. He had a very rebellious son Tara Chand, who inspired by the heroism of Guru Hargobind, developed a deep hatred for the Mughal rulers, and he made up his mind never to submit to them.[3] Kalyan Chand had some border troubles with the Raja of Handur and Suket. He was sure that as soon as Guru Hargobind came to his State, the threat from the neighbouring States would disappear, and he need not fear even the Mughal Emperors, who had interfered considerably with the independence of the State and the freedom of its people.

The first thing Guru Hargobind did on arrival was to visit Pir Budhan Shah. He drank milk from his hands and out of reverence sought blessings for his sons. The *Pir* blessed Baba Gurditta, Suraj Mal and Baba Tegh Bahadur. After giving the overall supervision and control of his *Khanqah* to Baba Gurditta and Guru Hargobind he breathed his last. He was buried according to Muslim rites, and prayers were said for him by the whole *Sangat* (congregation).

The people of the State were mostly Hindu idolators, worshippers of the goddess Durga. Raja Kalyan Chand one day brought a serious complaint against a disciple, Bhai Bhairon, that he had broken the nose of the goddess Taradevi. When the Guru questioned Bhairon he denied it. The servants of the Raja said: "We recognise him." He replied: "O Raja, ask the goddess, and if she names me, you may kill me." The Raja said, "O fool, how can the goddess speak? Bhairon laughed and said, "It is clear who is the fool. When she cannot prevent her head being broken and cannot point out the person who has injured her, why do you worship her as a divinity? "The Raja remained silent."[4] The mission of the Guru spread so fast that soon the majority of the people accepted the Sikh faith.[5] Guru Hargobind however gave strict orders not to hurt the susceptibilities of the idol worshippers or believers of other faiths by showing any inconoclastic zeal.

Whenever the Governor of Sirhind, or the Nawab of Rupar caused any trouble to Raja Kalyan Chand, Guru Hargobind's army rendered him every help to ward off aggression and punish the aggressor.[6]

Towards the middle of the year 1634 A.D. Guru Hargobind received the sad news of the death of his friend Wazir Khan at Agra.[7] The services rendered by this great soul to the cause of the Guru were recalled, and prayers were said for him. Next year, in the year 1635 A.D. he received the further sad news of the departure of the great Saint, Mian Mir,[8] for his heavenly abode. The Guru spoke with feeling about the spiritual greatness of Mian Mir, and his historic associations with the House of the Guru. Both Wazir Khan and Mian Mir were the silver and the golden bonds bridging the gulf between the aggressive and bigoted forces of Mughal Imperialism and the progressive and resurgent forces of Sikh faith. Even when Mughal Imperialism was at daggers drawn with the revolutionary ideals of Sikh faith, Wazir Khan, Mian Mir, Pir Budhan Shah, his disciple Sunder Shah, Rai Jodh and many other great Muslims established, that there is an eternal unity and an unbreakable spiritual and cultural bond between true Sikhism and true Islam, which is bound to flower into a lasting spiritual co-operation when our political society becomes more civilised, and the spiritual dialogue between these two great faiths is not obstructed by bigoted and narrow-minded leaders of the political world.

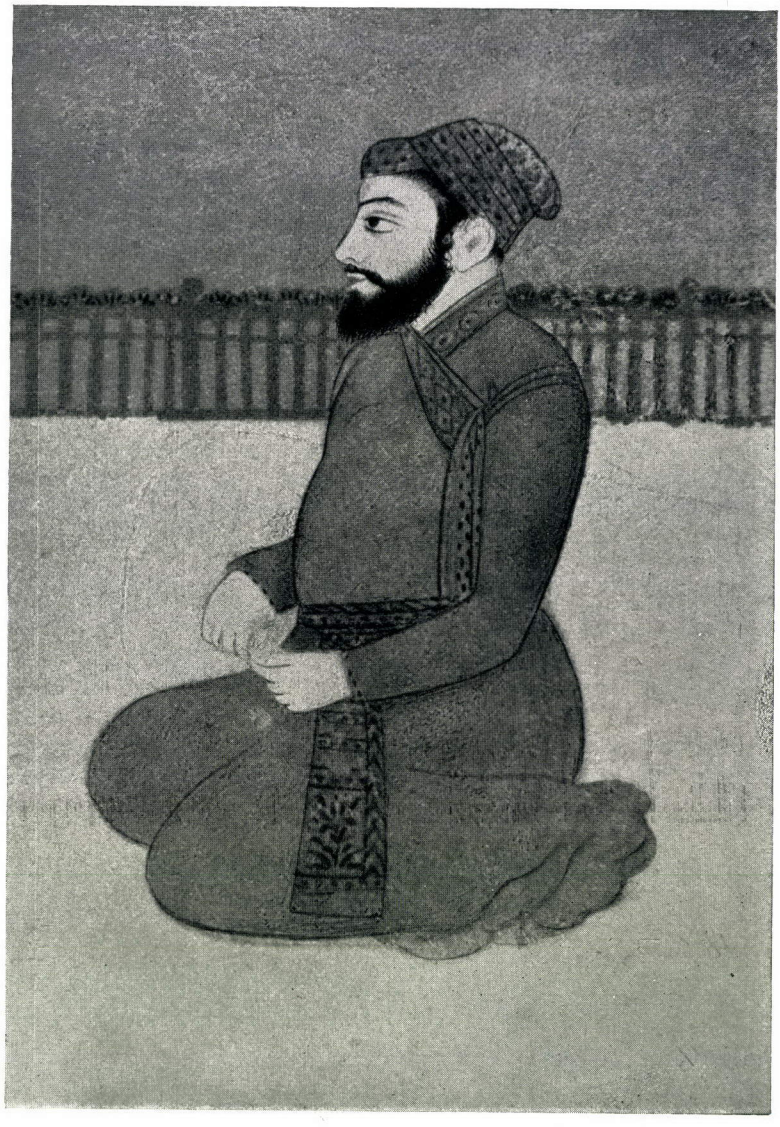
Raja Kalyan Chand this year invaded the territory of the Raja of Suket, whose daughter he had married. Guru Hargobind was against this invasion and did not render him any help. The Raja of Suket fought valiantly and killed Kalyan Chand. Kalyan Chand was succeeded by Raja Tara Chand in 1635 A.D. He attempted to avenge his father but with only partial success.

The shadow of death loomed large on the closing of the glorious era of Guru Hargobind. In the year 1638 A.D. Baba Gurditta passed away under mysterious circumstances, similar to those of the death of Baba Atal.[9] His death was a great shock to Baba Tegh Bahadur. Baba Gurditta's death was deeply mourned by all and his *Samadhi* was constructed by the side of the tomb of Pir Budhan Shah. His eldest son, Dhirmal, who was residing at Kartarpur was asked to come to perform the last rites of his father, and also to bring the copy of the *Adi Granth* which Guru Arjan had prepared. Dhir Mal was vain and selfish, and being misguided by the *masands,* whom he had employed to boost his spirituality, he

did not come to Kartarpur. His younger brother, Hari Rai, was quite a contrast to Dhirmal, and he began to receive the special attention and favours of Guru Hargobind. Bhai Bidhi Chand, during one of his missionary assignments, had met Pir Budhan Shah's disciple Pir Sunder Shah at Deonagar in Uttar Pradesh. A very deep bond of spiritual love was established between the two. At the death of Pir Budhan Shah, Sunder Shah had come to Kiratpur to pay homage to his aged Master. Sunder Shah once more urged Bidhi Chand to accompany him and there in their forest home they would live, and even die together. Bidhi Chand felt that he could not leave the Guru because he wished to serve him to the last, but he promised to go a month before his death to his friend Sunder Shah. Sunder Shah was very happy and assured him, that they would leave their earthly vesture together. In September 1638 A.D. Bidhi Chand felt that his end was near. He placed his son Lal Chand at the service of the Master, begging him to bestow the kind of love and affection he had always been receiving, on his son also. He sought the Guru's leave to go to his friend Sunder Shah at Deonagar.

Guru Hargobind praised the services of Bidhi Chand, and told him that he was one of the rarest gems amongst his disciples. He and his successors would honour his son and descendants just as he had been honoured and respected. Now that Bidhi Chand had become a *Brahm-Gyani* (a perfect God-illumined saint), he received all the blessings from the Guru. When he touched the feet of the Master, Guru Hargobind embraced him and praised him in the congregation[10] and asked the bards to sing his glory. Bidhi Chand went to Deonagar, and it is said that both he and his Muslim friend Pir Sunder Shah sat in meditation and discarded their bodies at the same time and on the same day. The tomb of Sunder Shah, side by side with the *samadhi* of Bidhi Chand, can be seen at Deonagar to this day.[11]

Two years later, Babak left this ephemeral world. The melodious voice that had sung the songs of the Gurus for nearly two decades, the brave bard who had fought in nearly all the battles of the Guru, and the great musician, who had taught Baba Tegh Bahadur various musical instruments and the secrets of the *Ragas* (the musical modes), was no more. Before he died, he left his son in the service of the Guru. The



Guru Tegh Bahadur
(a painting of early life, original with the author)



A Letter of Guru Hargobind, father of Guru Tegh Bahadur

Guru honoured Babak by personally attending to his last rites.

Soon after Babak's death, passed away another of Baba Tegh Bahadur's teachers, Jati Mal, who had taught him all the skills of warfare. In the battle of Kartarpur he and Bidhi Chand had kept close to him lest he be caught up in the thick of the battle. Jati Mal was the son of the brave Singha who fell a martyr in the first battle, and now after hearing the last great sermon of Guru Hargobind, he placed his son Daya Ram[12] at the service of the Master and breathed his last.

Never in his life did Baba Tegh Bahadur feel the impermanence of fleeting mortal life as he did now. One by one his dearest brothers, his great teachers and friends had passed away. Guru Hargobind was generally found in such a mood, as if, he would soon leave the world. He spent more and more time in silence and meditation, and his talks and sermons indicated that he would soon choose a successor and leave for the heavenly abode.

A few days before the *Kartik Puranmashi,* Guru Hargobind invited all his *masands* and kith and kin for an important announcement.[13] Scenting that Guru Hargobind might choose a successor, Dhirmal also went there. To boost up his importance he had bribed a few *masands* to do propaganda in his favour and even to announce to all pilgrims before they entered the city that Dhirmal was to be the crown prince. He behaved in such an annoying manner that eminent Sikhs felt that by every false move he was insulting the Guru. To crown his folly, early on *Puranmashi* day, he occupied the royal seat of the Guru and asked his followers to hoist the umbrella of sovereignty over his head and sing his praises. The Sikhs got so annoyed by his insulting behaviour that his followers were kicked out of the place, and he was asked to leave immediately.[14]

Baba Tegh Bahadur was now twenty-three years old. His mind was turning inwards to probe the meaning of life and death, to dive deeper into the Light that was shining in his heart and soul, and to seek strength and power to fulfil his destiny. Guru Hargobind was himself spending his days in silence, prayer, and the spiritual healing of the men and women, who came from far and near. Tegh Bahadur's

innocence, and contemplative silence, were misunderstood, even by his mother. He cared not for any self-importance. He cared not to befriend the *masands* and others, who could recommend him for Guruship. He cared not for offerings ; if any one did offer him anything, he at once gave it away to the needy. He loved his father deeply. Whenever Guru Hargobind took his supper, he would sit near him, and would like to serve him with his own hands.

Guru Hargobind showed exceptional affection for Baba Tegh Bahadur[15] and Hari Rai. For some time people could hardly guess who would be the successor. Guru Hargobind then sent for Bhai Bhana, the High Priest, and Bibi Viro and her husband. Early in the last week of February 1644 A.D. when all the disciples were assembled, Guru Hargobind seated his grandson, Hari Rai, on the Pontific throne, and circumambulating him three times, he placed five pice and a cocoanut, and then bowed before young Hari Rai declaring from that day onwards, that Hari Rai would be the seventh Guru, on the spiritual throne of Guru Nanak.[16] He then asked his sons to acknowledge Hari Rai as the Guru, by bowing before him. Baba Tegh Bahadur was the first to do so, and he was followed by Suraj Mal.

Holy Mother Nanaki was a little upset, on seeing her noble son by-passed. When she complained about it, Guru Hargobind counselled patience saying, "He will live long enough to shoulder his responsibility and do great deeds. For the present, you had better go to Bakala, and let Tegh Bahadur pass his time in prayer and meditation as he wants to. There, he will receive the call."[17] He asked Suraj Mal to stay at Kiratpur, and help Guru Hari Rai as he was quite young. He blessed him and assured him that his descendants would long enjoy the fruits of his services. He then turned to Guru Hari Rai, and delivered to him his last sermon: "Live in peace, and as you are quite young, avoid armed clash with the Mughal armies as far as possible. The Hindu States around this place keep on quarrelling and fighting. Do not get involved in their internecine warfare. But as the Mughal rulers are quite untrustworthy, be prepared for all eventualities. For any emergency that may arise, always keep at least 2200 soldiers fully armed with you. Be not the first to provoke fighting.

For the sake of protecting the poor, the helpless, and the oppressed, do not hesitate to use the army."[18]

Guru Hargobind had already constructed a small room on the banks of the Sutlej. He then informed Guru Hari Rai that he would enter the room on February 28, 1644 A.D., and he should keep it so well guarded that no one should be allowed to enter it. For five days hymns should be sung outside the room and food and clothing should be distributed to the poor. Early on the fifth day the doors should be opened. About two days before he was to enter the newly built room, "a Yazdani Saint, named Parrai Kaivan, on hearing the great qualities of Guru Hargobind, came to see him. The Guru recognised in him the greatness of a seer and met him with great respect and reverence. After a long spiritual discourse, which gladdened his heart and inspired his soul, he went away."[19]

Early on 28th February, Guru Hargobind gave audience and met his dearest and nearest. He blessed Baba Tegh Bahadur, Bibi Viro, Suraj Mal and the disciples who had served him long and sincerely. He then entered the room and the door was closed from outside by Guru Hari Rai and strong armed guards put all around it.[20] For four days the hymns of praise to God were sung, the free kitchen was kept open day and night and clothes were distributed to the poor. On the fifth evening accompanied by Baba Tegh Bahadur, Suraj Mal, Bhai Bhana, and Bhai Sadhu, Guru Hari Rai opened the doors of the room. There, sat in *samadhi,* with his back resting against the wall, Guru Hargobind, his face still glowing with spiritual fervour. Everyone bowed before the Guru who seemed to be sitting in meditation. When they went closer, they found that he had left the body for the heavenly abode.[21]

The body was reverently taken out, bathed and dressed in a royal dress. A huge funeral pyre of sandalwood was prepared, and the body was placed on it. After the prayers, Guru Hari Rai set fire to it.[22] As the flames rose high, a Rajput named Raja Ram, (Raja Ram Partap Singh of Jasselmer[23]) who was his devotee, threw himself into the fire and taking a few steps in the fire reached the feet of the Guru, and placing his face on the sole of the Guru's feet did not move till he died. After him, the son of a Jat, who was serving the Guru's son-in-law (Bhai Sadhu Ram), jumped into the fire, and

after that a large number of people wanted to jump in, but Guru Hari Rai prevented them."[24] Thus ended the glorious life of the grandest hero and prophet of India on March 4, 1644 A.D.

During the stormy career of thirty-eight years, he had carried the message of Guru Nanak from Srinagar to Pilibhit in U.P. ; he had sent missionaries to all the provinces of India, and even to distant places like Bengal and Ceylon, and "he had also made it clear to the world that worldly pursuits were quite compatible with the deeper religious spirit and highest piety, and to bear arms in defence of their homes and hearths was a paramount duty of the Sikh faith. The repeated success of the Guru's army had made the Sikhs realise their own power and the weaknesses of the Mughal empire."[25] He gave to the Sikhs, for generations to come, freedom from fear, freedom from superstitions, freedom from the social and political burdens of the ages, freedom from the shackles of tyranny and despotism, freedom from anarchy of thoughts and faiths. He gave them moral and spiritual courage, to laugh at death, to spurn tyranny and despotism, and to love and serve humanity without any prejudices of castes and creeds. He taught them how to love and respect the true Muslim, the true Hindu and the true Christian. He also taught them to face and fight the fanatic, the bigoted, the cruel and the barbaric, be he a Muslim, a Hindu, or a Christian.

Feeling a deep loneliness within, Baba Tegh Bahadur left Kiratpur after about a month with his mother Nanaki, his wife Gujari and his brother-in-law Kirpal, for Bakala a village in the Amritsar District.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1]Bilaspur lies between 30°. 12′ and 31° 35′ and 76°. 26′ and 76° 58′. It has an area of 448 square miles. The State was originally known as Kahlur, and after a fort of that name, built by Raja Kahal Chand, sixth in line was called Kot Kahlur. Raja Dip Chand who succeeded to the gaddi about 1953 A.D, founded the Byaspur, the present capital in honour of Byasji, hence Bilaspur. Bilaspur is situated on both banks of the Sutlej in a tract where the river breaking away from the middle ranges of the Himalaya threads its way through the valleys of the lower Hills.

Punjab State Gazetteer 1910, Vol: VIII

[2] I have gleaned the history of the State from various records and gazetteers of the State.

[3] In the next chapter it will be noted how he came into conflict with Shah Jahan and refused to pay him any tribute.

[4] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib :* Mohsan Fānī. The writer was a friend of Guru Hargobind and was present at Kiratpur during the last days of the Guru.

[5] "And now the majority of the inhabitants of that country are followers of the Guru. And in those hills, upto the boundary of the land of Tiber and Khata there is no trace of a Mohammedan.

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib.

[6] Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā p 245*

[7] The same year (1634 A.D) news arrived from Agra of the death of Wazir Khan from colic pain. His Majesty expressed his grief and condoled with the sons of the deceased on the death of their father.

S. M. Latif : *"Lahore"* p 56

[8] The following inscription on Mian Mir's tomb gives the year of death as 1635 A.D. (or 1045 A.H.).

Mian Mir the Chief of the pious,
The dust of whose portals is envied,
By the stone of the alchemist,
Travelled to the City of Eternity
Being disgusted with the world of sorrow,
Reason said for the years of his death,
Mian Mir has gone to the highest heaven
in the year 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.)

[9] The author of *Dabistan* gives the following reason :
Nakhora who is one of the Sikhs brought his daughter for marriage with Babajio (Baba Gurditta). The Baba wanted to send her to the female apartment, when the mother of Hari Rai, owing to the want of attention which Babajio showed her, wanted that girl for some other man and coming to Hargobind complained. On hearing this Hargobind said to Babajio : "I have called Nakhora as my son, so his daughter cannot be married to my son". But Nakhora would not agree to taking back his daughter and the sedan chair. And Babajio also did not refuse his wish owing to his humble request. Hargobind said "May this tie of wedlock and attainment of desire be never consummated and facilitated." And during those very days, Babajio was isolated from the body while wearing his bridegroom's robes. And the daughter of Nakhora returned home a virgin.

Dabistān-i Mazāhib.

[10] Srī Hargobind geh kar bāhun,
daī dhīr, tum sam im cāhuň.
tor mor mai bhed nā koī
gursikh nām rahe ab doī,

rūp ek saṅg mere bheo
gur ghar kāraj bahut taiṅ kīo.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 8. Aṅsu 44

[11] Bhai Bidhi Chand ate Sāīṅ Sunder Shah dā Bhādoṅ sudī 3 Saṁbat 1695 nū Deonagar dehāṅt hoyā. dohāṅ dī smādh te kabar ik thāṅ dekhī jaṅdī haī. The Samadhi and the tomb of both the Saints can still be found in Deonagar.

Kahan Singh: *Mahāṅ Kosh*

[12] Daya Ram fought in the first battle of Guru Gobind Singh with the Hill Chiefs at Bhangānī: In his autobiography Guru Gobind Singh describes his heroism thus:

kupio devtesaṁ Dayā Ram judhaṁ,
kīo dronkī jioṅ mahāṅ judh sudhāṁ.

Dasm Granth: Apni Kathā Chap 8:6

[13] Sri Guru Har Gobind āgyā dīn
Pūranmāśī meh din tīn,
tis din hvai hai daras hamārā,
itnai karo manglācārā.

Sūraj Prākāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 51

[14] Dhīrmal soṅ bahur bakhānā,
je nij bhalā cāhoṅ caḍh jāvo,
natu apmān kaśt ko pāvo;
hukam Gurū ko: thir neh rahīo,
ab hī uṭh mārag ko lahīyo.

ibid

[15] kab kab āvaiṅ Tegh Bahādur,
kareh sabhan te in bahu ādar.

ibid. Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 43

[16] tīn pardachanā phir kar dīn,
paise paṅc nālīer līn;
khare hoe dhar bhet agārī,
pun sāhib Bhāne kiyā tīkā
kīnas kul Sodhī mai nīkā.
pun sabh soṅ gur kahī sunāi,
mam sam ab jānoh Harī Rai.

ibid: Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 53

"And at the time of abandoning his body and setting out (on the last journey), he (Guru Hargobind) made him to wear the robes of successorship and ordered all relations and people of the family to obey him.

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib

[17] *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 8 *Aṅsū* 55

[18] Sainād dosau doe hazār
rakho saṅg suceto dhār.

ibid: Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 56

[19] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*

[20] The following account of the last five-day Nirvānā Samādhī of Guru Hargobind is recorded in many 17th Century and 18th century recensions of Adi Granth, in the memoranda

appended to them. I have seen it recorded in about sixty historical copies lying outside Punjab :

"sat kartā purkh niraṅkār nirvair akālmūrat kartā purkh Srī Guru Hargobindjī smānā Kīratpur ke heṭh thāpal patāl nāu thā kothe vic paṅj deh sāṅg hoā rātī āvdī samana nadī ute dāg ditā rāj Kahlur ke vic ; āge jog Gurū bhāvai gā so hovai gā, koi jīvai gā so līkhe ga, Gurū kī gal Gurū jāne."

Sūraj Prakāsh states that he stayed in Nirvāna Samādhī for seven days which does not appear to be correct in the face of the more reliable account given above. But the rest of the historical version of Santokh Singh is the same.

[21] "tab lau neh samīp ko āvai,
Yodhā gan cauṅh dis thir thāvai,
nis din rākhen sabh takrāī,
kīrtan kareh suneh man lāī,
saptam din ke amrit vele,
tan ko tyāg kīn suhele,
lāe kaṅdh ke sāth pichārī
baithe rahe prabhu tis bārī,

Sūraj Prākāsh Rās 8 *Aṅsū* 58

[22] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*

[23] Gyani Gyan Singh in his *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā* gives the name as Raja Ram Partap Singh of Jasselmer.

[24] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*

[25] Transformation of Sikhism By: Gokal Chand Narang p 106

CHAPTER IX

ELECTED SOLITUDE: TWENTY YEARS OF MEDITATION

My father and mother,[1]
Meditated on the Incomprehensible ;
They both practised the highest *yoga*[2]
Through diverse spiritual efforts ;
Their devout service in the love of God
Pleased the Almighty, and He blessed them.

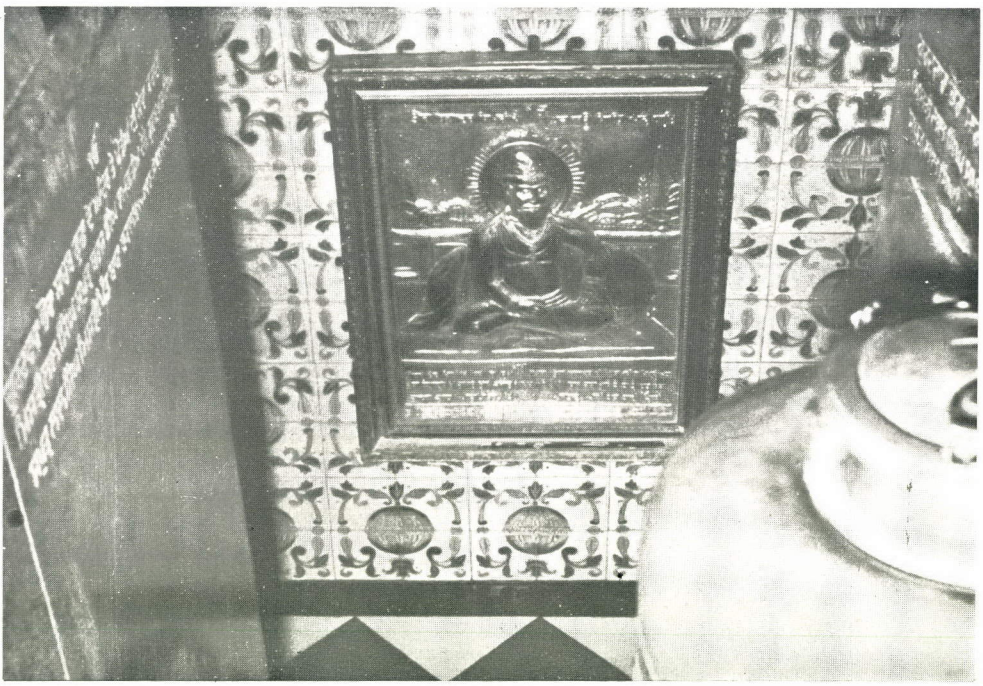
Guru Gobind Singh
Bachiter Nātak : Apnī Kathā : Ch 6:3, 4

BAKALA is a historic village in the Amritsar district,[3] about two and half miles north of Beas Railway-station. In the seventeenth century it was a flourishing business centre, situated at a short distance from the banks of the river Beas, which has since then changed its course.[4]

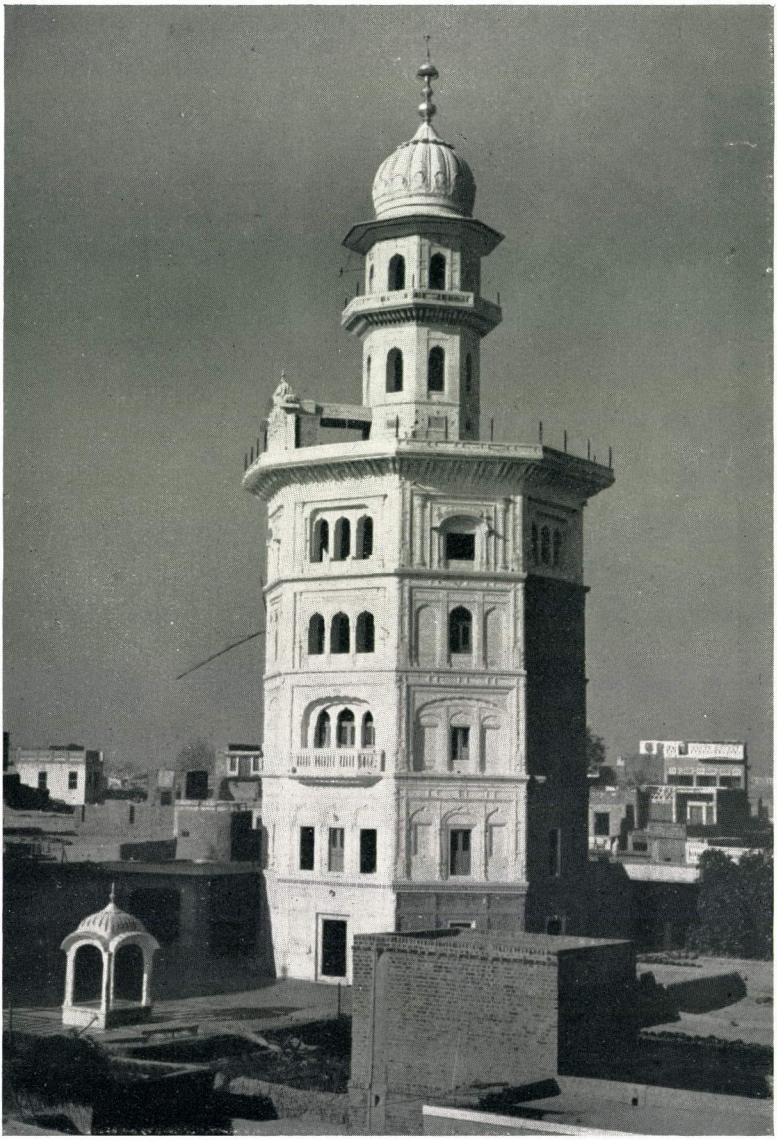
Here in Bakala lived Bhai Hari Chand Lamb and Hardevi, father and mother of Holy Mother Nanaki. Here also lived Bhai Mehra, a well-to-do and devout disciple of Guru Hargobind. Just before the birth of Baba Tegh Bahadur, Bhai Mehra had built a beautiful house, and had invited Guru Hargobind and his mother, Mata Ganga, to be the first to step into the house and grace it with their presence. During their stay of about a week, Mata Ganga breathed her last. The day she left for her heavenly abode was also the martyrdom day of her husband, Guru Arjan. According to her last wishes, she was not cremated, but her body was interred in the flowing water of the Beas,[5] in the same way as Guru Arjan's body was disposed in the river Ravi.

After performing the last rites of his mother Guru Hargobind left the place, blessing Mehra, and the house, he had built. Mehra begged the Guru to make the house his permanent abode. Guru Hargobind appreciated his devotion and sentiments, and assured him that one of his successors would come to the place, and stay there for quite a long time.[6]

It is quite possible, that when Guru Hargobind asked his son Baba Tegh Bahadur to go and stay at Bakala, he had this promise to Bhai Mehra in view. But a more obvious reason was that, for the type of meditative life Baba Tegh Bahadur



Bhora Sahib (Meditation Cell), Bakala



Bhora Sahib, Bakala (outside view)

wished to lead for some years, Bakala was an ideal place, where he could live in elected solitude, away from the storm and stress of political upheavals, under the tender care of his maternal grandparents, and Bhai Mehra. Another possible reason for sending him away from Kiratpur was that Guru Hargobind thought it better that two suns did not shine in the same place. His deep spirituality, and glowing personality, backed by his rights of inheritance could attract personal admirers, and tempt them to create an innergroup which could be embarrassing to the seventh and eighth Gurus. As Tegh Bahadur was destined to live longer, he could wait for his turn, lest the seventh and eighth Gurus, who though younger, were equally gifted in perfection of spirit, should not miss their chance of leadership of the Sikh Community.[7]

For nearly twenty subsequent years, Tegh Bahadur lived at Bakala in elected silence. He was amply provided by income from Hargobindpura[8] and the whole of Amritsar district was deemed as his diocese. He had a meditation cell constructed in the house, in which he sat in contemplation and prayer for most of the day and night, giving a few hours to sleep and few to work, study, and spiritual discourses with special visitors. Now and then, he even went out for hunting.[9] In the deep forest, he would spend many hours alone, with nature, and his God. He avoided crowds, because he shunned the blare and bluster of publicity. He lived in silent communion with the all pervading Spirit. He had conquered the senses in the clear light of insight, and now he entered the realm of divine knowledge and truth. All his feelings and emotions were submerged into a vision of reality and experience of truth.

Yet Baba Tegh Bahadur did not practise any self-mortification. He did not torture his body and mind with those cruel austerities, through which Hindu ascetics sought to purchase birth in heaven, and taste divine tranquillities, before they are again launched into the dreary sea of mortal existence. He did not chastise his body, and embrace a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. He did not despise life, and show disdain for the decencies of civil society. He did not execute any monastic penance of the ascetic who goes to the forest or desert saying, "Full of hindrance is the householder's life."

He lived in the heart of a city with his family. As his son, Guru Gobind Singh, later on testifies, Mata Gujari lived the same life, practised the same meditations, and like him, prayed for the salvation of humanity, and participated in all his silent life of devotion to God and His Will. She too achieved the vision, and received blessings of God, in active spiritual comradeship of her prophet husband. She showed that in the Sikh way of life, home ties are never snapped in the pursuit of spiritual freedom. The ties of true love between man and wife help them to transcend all bonds, and develop a spirituality of mind and soul which inspires them to identify themselves with the well-being of the whole universe. Marriage is an intensely human, and perfectly normal way of attaining self-fulfilment.

Baba Tegh Bahadur's solitude was not a state of isolation which leaves man at the mercy of self-love and all its miseries. His life was not that of a walled-in anchorite of romantic legend. His solitude and quiet meditative life depended not so much on physical isolation, as on the inner apartness, that bears witness, even in the busiest setting of social life, to man's true communion with the divine Spirit.

Through communion with the Perfect Being, Baba Tegh Bahadur acquired a bond with humanity, which far from being broken, tended always towards what is the model of true society: the brotherhood of man in the Spirit of God. Thus his meditation was not only a perpetual communion with the Supreme Being, but through the realisation of His all pervading Spirit; it was communion with all mankind. He and his devoted wife Mata Gujari prayed and meditated not for themselves, but for the whole of humanity. They also sought from God the knowledge and inspiration, for the task they were waiting to be assigned to them. They both prayed for strength and power to fulfil it. They both responded humbly and sincerely to each inner call.

Baba Tegh Bahadur was intimately in touch with the world outside him. He was deeply concerned with the fate and freedom of his country, and watched with keen interest the social and political changes that were taking place, as an artist watches a drama in which he is to play a hero's part. His brother-in-law, Kirpal Chand, who was a soldier in Guru Hari Rai's army, came twice a year, and informed him of all

the small and great things that were happening at Kiratpur. Baba Dwarka Das, the descendant of Guru Amar Das, and eminent Sikhs of Amritsar district, like Bhai Garhia, Baba Gurditta, came to pay him homage, and brought with them the news of Lahore.[10]

The people of Punjab were very happy during the Viceroyalty of Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh developed great personal affection and respect for Guru Hari Rai.[11] Young Guru Hari Rai lived the life of a detached king and prophet, who concerned himself mainly with the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people.[12] He scrupulously avoided getting involved in the internecine aggressive wars of the feudal chiefs of the Himalaya range or the Imperialistic exploits of the Mughal rulers. For his own defence, he maintained a well-equipped army of 2200 horsemen.

Spectacular and eventful changes took place even in the Kahlur State, in which Guru Hari Rai was living. "Kalyan Chand, the Raja of Kah-lur, was killed in 1635 A.D., when he tried to invade the territory of the Raja of Suket, whose daughter he had married. His son Tara Chand tried to avenge his father, but with only partial success."[13]

Raja Tara Chand was a rebellious prince, who did not tolerate interference in his territory even by the Mughal Emperor. He refused to pay tribute to Emperor Shah Jahan, who was so annoyed with his attitude, that in 1645 A.D. he sent Najabat Khan, son of Mirza Sharuk, to attack his territory. Najabat Khan mobilised a large army and took Raja Tara Chand prisoner. Guru Hari Rai was only 14 years old at this time. To keep out of the conflict, he moved his army to Thapal near Sirhind.[14] Raja Tara Chand was released, and his kingdom restored to him when he agreed to pay the tribute.

The ill feeling between Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb was so bitter even during the lifetime of Shah Jahan, and had continued growing bitter for so many years, that it was the talk of the whole Empire, and peace had been maintained between them only by keeping Aurangzeb far away from the court. Shah Jahan had given clear indications that he wished to leave the crown to Dara, the eldest of the four sons, by the same mother. In order to train him in the administration of the Empire and to smoothen the transfer of the supreme authority

to him, the Emperor had kept Dara by his side for many years past, and allowed him to govern his Viceroyalties by deputies.[15] He was given the title of Shah Buland Iqbal "Lord of Exalted Fortune" and invested with a robe of honour, studded with diamonds and pearls, and a splendid ruby for his turban. Most significant of all, a golden couch had been placed for him below the imperial throne, and Dara alone of all the royal family, was allowed to be seated in the presence of the King. No clearer sign was needed to show the court that Shah Jahan intended his eldest son to succeed him.[16] Aurangzeb contrived to give a slow poison to Dara, and the prince became seriously ill. The physicians informed the Emperor that poison could be removed through *chebulic myrobalan* (*harad*) weighing two ounces and a clove weighing a few grams, which could be acquired only from Guru Hari Rai. These things were very rare. The Emperor wrote a polite letter to Guru Hari Rai expressing his regret at his past attitude towards the House of the Guru, and requested him to send the *chebulic myrobalan* and the clove of the required weight, and save his son's life.[17] To these articles the Guru added a pearl, which was to be grounded and used as subsidiary remedy. Dara Shikoh was perfectly cured, thereafter, both he and his father maintained very friendly relations with the Guru.[18]

During all these years Baba Tegh Bahadur lived in elected solitude amid the busy surroundings of Bakala, like a moon moving among the faint stars. They, who saw him living in the silence of godly love were deeply impressed by the kingliness of his manners. His head was high, and the flame of God was in his eyes. Self-possessed and serene, he looked a little sad, but it was the sadness of the prophet, who sought power and love, to show compassion to those in sorrow and suffering, and comradeship to the lonely and despised. When he smiled, in his smile was the knowledge of the universe. It was like the dust of the stars falling on the face of beauty. The pensive smile of Baba Tegh Bahadur was a golden veil over his flaming soul.

Having power, he kept it under grand self-control. Having wisdom, he lived in the silence of innocence. Having light, he carried it with the humility and poise of a sage. The more he discovered the secret resources of his own in-

communicable personality, the more determined was his preparation to contribute to the redemption of humanity. Whenever he turned his glance inward, he opened the window of his inner silence on the world. Following the footsteps of her husband on his spiritual ascent, like a shadow, Mata Gujri rose from contemplation to contemplation, till she stood fully enlightened on the Mount of Vision, in the supreme realisation of *Nirvana*. Wisdom rose from within her, like a wind of fire, and burnt away all dross and alloy. She entered the realm of Truth, perceiving the Love, in which all love is one. She held within her heart the treasure of divine wisdom, and the wondrous knowledge that is Light and peace. Holy Mother Nanaki silently watched the enlightened life of her son, and daughter-in-law, who loved and served her with exemplary filial piety.

"Within the country a profound peace reigned. The peasantry were carefully cherished; harsh and exacting governors were in many cases dismissed on complaint of the people. Wealth and prosperity increased on all hands. The wealth of Ind under the great Mughal, Shah Jahan, dazzled the eyes of the foreign visitors. A kind and yet a wise master, Shah Jahan had gathered round himself a band of very able officers and made his court the centre of the wit and wisdom of the land. But, one by one the great ministers and generals, who had contributed to the glory of the reign, were being removed by the pitiless hand of death."[19]

On September 6, 1657 A.D. Shah Jahan fell ill,[20] of strangury and constipation. The malady took such an acute turn that the daily durbar was stopped. The Emperor ceased to show his face to the public from the balcony. A fratricidal struggle for the crown at once began, in which Aurangzeb took the principal part. Dara Shikoh managed the King's affairs, and in so doing, he was within his rights, as eldest son and presumptive heir to the crown of Delhi. But he had to reckon with three brothers each in command of a province. Shuja was Governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb was down south in Deccan, Murad Bakhsh was the Governor of Gujerat.[21]

Dara was a loving husband, a doting father, a devoted son, but he was a vain and injudicious master, and poor judge of character. "Long continued prosperity had unnerved his character, and made him incapable of planning wisely, daring

boldly, and achieving strenuously, or of wresting victory from the jaws of defeat, by desperate efforts or heroic endurance."[22]

Aurangzeb was an approved general, a man of tried courage, and powers of endurance, a prince whose wisdom, coolness, and resolution had been tested, and acclaimed in three arduous campaigns. When in midst of a battle with the Uzbegs, at the hour of evening prayer, Aurangzeb calmly dismounted and performed his religious rites under fire, his men recognised the mettle of the man. "His decided bent towards Muslim puritanism was at once his distinction and his ruin."[23]

Aurangzeb made Murad his ally, and faced Dara's well equipped army in the battle of Samurgarh. He fought the fiery valour of Dara's division, with cool courage, and a nerve of steel. *"Dile Yarana"* "Take heart my friends," he cried, "*Khuda hai, Khuda hai*" (There is God). He ordered the legs of his elephant to be chained together to make retreat impossible. The mere order was enough to restore the ebbing courage of the few squadrons, that still stood beside him. Dara's unlucky destiny turned the balance of fortune against him. He committed the most fatal error, that an Indian commander could perpetrate. When the day seemed almost his own, he dismounted from the elephant. "Where is Dara?" cried the army? "It was as though the sun had vanished in mid heaven. "Dara is dead cried one." "We are betrayed", said another. A blind panic seized upon the all but victorious army. The unlucky prince pricing life more than the hope of a crown turned and fled.[24] To make matters much worse for him, Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh tendered their fealty to the victorious power and turned their back on Dara when he needed them most.

Aurangzeb threw his father into prison. He connived at making his boorish brother Murad disgracefully drunk and threw him into Gwalior prison. He took possession of his entire establishment and property. Three years later he had him beheaded by two slaves in his prison cell.

The Punjab was strongly attached to Dara, the province that had long been under his Viceroyalty, and was now held by his faithful deputy, Sayyad Ghairrat Khan. On the way to Lahore he stopped at Goindwal, to pay homage to Guru Hari Rai in the last week of June 1658 A.D., where Guru Hari

Rai had come on the invitation of Baba Dwarka Das. Sikh chroniclers have recorded an interesting spiritual discourse between Guru Hari Rai and Dara Shikoh.[25] Guru Hari Rai talked to him of the Kingdom of the Spirit and the transience of the world. He blessed him with the moral and spiritual courage which he needed most. It also appears that Guru Hari Rai also refused to be drawn into his war of succession.[26]

For nearly a month the whole of Punjab was under Dara Shikoh. He stationed an army of 200,000 at Rupar to guard the ferries over Sutlej. A month later Aurangzeb's General, Bahadur Khan attacked Dara's defences and made his army retreat to the ferry at Goindwal. While Dara's army was fighting at Goindwal, he escaped from Lahore to Multan.[27]

After weary wanderings and bitter bereavements, Dara took shelter with an Afghan clansman, whose life he had once saved, when Shah Jahan had ordered him to be trampled to death by an elephant. During this period his wife died of hardships and misery. To crown his misfortune and sufferings, his Afghan host betrayed him to Aurangzeb. On August 29, Dara was seated on an elephant, covered with dust and dirt, along with his fourteen-year-old son. The pity of the citizens swept every other feeling away. At night he was hacked to pieces, and the next day his corpse was placed on an elephant and paraded through the city.

There were significant changes in the Kahlur State also. Twenty-year-old Raja Dip Chand succeeded his father Raja Tara Chand in 1653 A.D. He was a man of religious tendencies, and so evil were the omens of his succession, that he removed his capital from Sunhane to a place on the Sutlej, close to where a shrine of Ranganath Shiva, and a cave of Byasji was situated. Here he founded the present Capital of the state which was first called Byaspur, a name subsequently corrupted as Bilaspur. He assisted the Emperor Aurangzeb in his military campaigns, and received as a reward for his services a *Khilat* of five lakhs, and a *sanad* authorising his suzerainity over no less than 22 hill states, including Kulu, Kangra, Mandi, Suket, Chamba, etc. But on his way home from the Imperial army, he was poisoned at Nadaun by the Raja of Kangra."[28]

In the year 1657 A.D., Bhai Mai Das, son of Bhai Balu

Ram came from Alipur near Multan and presented to Guru Hari Rai his three elder sons: Jetha (later Bhai Jetha Singh) 18, Dayal Das 15, and Mani Ram (later Bhai Mani Singh) 13 years old.[29] For two years all the three sons served the Guru with great devotion, and Guru Hari Rai blessed them all. Mani Ram performed the humblest duties of washing utensils in the community kitchen (*langar*).[30] After two years Bhai Mai Das sought the permission of the Guru to go to Alipur to perform the marriage of Mani Ram, who was now fifteen.[31] Mani Ram's marriage was performed with Sito Bai, daughter of an eminent Sikh, Lakhi Rai (also known as Lakhi Shah), a Yadav Kshatriya whose original home was at Khairpur Syadat, in Tehsil Alipur or Muzaffargarh district.[32] He was also a prominent trader and contractor of the Delhi Court who provided provisions to the Mughal army. After the marriage, the three brothers Dayala, Jetha and Mani Ram, remained in the service of the Guru.[32]

During these years Bhai Hira Nand left for his heavenly abode. Before leaving his body, he sought the Guru's blessings for his two sons: Mati Das and Sati Das. Mati Das and Sati Das were Persian scholars.[33] Guru Hari Rai blessed them assuring the great warrior Saint Hira Nand, that his sons would continue to receive the same honour, respect and love, which he had received. The two brothers took a vow to lead their lives in complete dedication to the Guru's cause.

Aurangzeb had now crowned himself Emperor. While in Punjab, he did not see or hear of any active part that Guru Hari Rai might have played against him in his war of succession, but he knew of Guru Hari Rai's personal relations with Dara Shikoh. Some bigoted Muslims and Hindus reported to the Emperor that the Sikh Scriptures and teachings were an attempt to corrupt both Hinduism and Islam. But some of the closest advisers of Aurangzeb, like Mirza Raja Jai Singh, spoke highly of the Gurus and their teachings. These Rajput princes, like the Sikh Gurus, were descendants of the Solar dynasty of Ayudhia, and deemed the Gurus as their kith and kin. Ever since Raja Bhagwan Das' stay at Lahore and his personal association with the Sikh Gurus, these princes maintained great respect for the Sikh Gurus and their teachings. Aurangzeb expressed his desire to meet the Guru.

Guru Hari Rai did not go personally, but sent his son Ram Rai, who was about fourteen, to explain Sikh Philosophy to the Emperor. As heir presumptive to the Guru's throne,[34] he was asked to maintain the integrity and veracity of the faith of Guru Nanak, whom he was to represent. He was strictly advised not to be cowed down, or intimidated, but to give exposition of Sikh Scriptures without fear or guile. He was asked to be loyal to his ideals, firm in his convictions, frank and truthful in his exposition. He was given a recently prepared copy of the *Adi Granth*[35], in which the proem (*Mulmantra*) had been written by Guru Hari Rai in his own hand.[36] Although Ram Rai was quite young, his intellectual and spiritual training was very nearly complete. His assignment to the Emperor's Court was a test of his ability, his spirituality, and his veracity.[37]

Whenever Aurangzeb wanted to put a non-muslim Saint to test, he first gave him three days to perform a miracle. If he failed to perform a miracle, he was asked either to accept Islam, or face death. In some rare cases he was spared, if he proved to be politically useful. Ram Rai was an adept in occult powers. He showed nearly seventy-two miracles,[38] which impressed the Emperor very much. The Emperor, himself a great theologian, then discussed Sikh Philosophy and asked innumerable questions to probe whether there was any thing un-Islamic in Sikhism. It goes to the credit of Ram Rai, who was only fourteen years old, that he made a spirited exposition of Sikhism, and almost convinced the Emperor that there was nothing un-Islamic or anti-Muslim in Sikh philosophy. It was a universal faith grounded on the experience of Truth and Absolute God. But a courtier, most probably a Hindu able to read Sikh Scriptures, mischievously pointed out two lines from a composition of Guru Nanak, which was apparently critical of Muslims. The question about this line came as a surprise to Ram Rai, and when Aurangzeb asked him to explain the following verse he quailed, fearing that the literal meaning of the first two lines might annoy the Emperor and he might refuse to hear the symbolic meaning, and the philosophical explanation might not be accepted. Anxious to maintain the excellent impression he had already created on the Emperor, he told a lie: The hymn as read by the courtier was as follows in English translation:

mitī musalmān kī peḍai paī ghumiār
The clay of a Muslim's grave,
Falls into the hands of the potter ;
Pots and bricks out of it he makes ;
In the fire burns the poor clay.
As it burns it weeps and wails,
Shedding tears of cinders at its fate.
Says Nānak: God the Creator
Who is the Causer of all the causes,
Knows where departs and what befalls
The soul of man hereafter.

Guru Nānak: *Āsā-dī-Vār* 2:6.

The verse only gives Guru Nanak's theory that the soul of man leaves the body and does not remain in the grave, as Semitic faiths believe, till doomsday. The graves of poor men are often dismantled by the potter who makes pots out of the clay, while the fate of the soul is known only to God. Out of cowardice Ram Rai said that the scribe had by mistake written the word "Musalman" in place of '*beiman*' meaning wicked man.

Ram Rai's cowardice proved suicidal for him. Guru Hari Rai was seriously disturbed, when he came to know at what cost of truth and courage, his son had purchased safety. He loved his young son, but he did not let paternal sentiments sway his stern disapproval of his son's cowardice, and disloyalty to Guru Nanak's faith and philosophy. He forthwith disinherited his cowardly son and refused even to see his face. Ram Rai went to Lahore in the hope of persuading the Guru to accept him, through the Sodhis and *Sangat* of Lahore. Guru Hari Rai sent a *Hukamnama* to the *Sangat* of Lahore to disown Ram Rai and not to make him any offerings. He could not forgive a son who out of fear of an earthly Emperor, stooped to such cowardly acts of sacrilege as distorting a composition of Guru Nanak.[39] He was certainly not fit to carry the burden of spiritual sovereignty of Guru Nanak.[40] About a month later he appointed his second son Hari Krishan as his successor and passed away on October 6, 1661 A.D. Hari Krishan, though only a little over five years old, had been tried and tested as a perfect, fearless and fully illumined soul.

During all these years of silent meditation and prayer, Baba Tegh Bahadur's life had become a perennial psalm of God. He was deeply conscious of the political and other

changes that had taken place. With his mind's eye, he saw from his retreat his countrymen groaning under oppression and fear, and sinking in cowardice and hypocricy, even as an eagle suspended on unmoving pinions, floating in supernal sunshine, looks down to behold the earth spread like a picture below him.

The cries of suffering humanity reached his ears. The Rajput fighters for freedom, and many Hindu and Muslim divines, had abandoned themselves to greed, court favours and earthly desires, which like sea water enraged the thirst they seemed to quench. The whole country wept uncomforted. Baba Tegh Bahadur was determined to offer his life-blood, as unguent to its wound, as soon as he received the call.

He had spent nearly twenty years in prayer and meditation to be as perfect as Guru Nanak, to be as self-effacing as his grandfather, Guru Arjan, to be as bold as his father, Guru Hargobind, and to fight and resist evil till it was conquered. He was now fully prepared to awaken his country from the sleep of ignorance, and abject submission to tyranny. He was waiting for the final call to go out, holding aloft the torch of Guru Nanak, to tame the barbaric spirit of rulers, to bring light to the souls that were plunged in darkness, to transpose indifference into hope, bitterness into love, and to change the most hard-hearted into a hymn of praise.

Baba Tegh Bahadur now lived at the transcendent level of Reality, which we, immersed in the poor life of illusion cannot conceive. He breathed in an atmosphere of abundant life, indicating humanity's claim to the possible and permanent attainment of Reality. His life and achievement testified to the advent of triumphing spiritual power. The deepest and richest levels of his personality had now attained to perfect light and freedom. He was imbued with divine Light and consumed with eternal Love.

It was the midnight of March 30, 1664. Suddenly a great resplendent Light blazed within him. His face was radiant with the splendorous beams of illumination. The call had come. He sought, from the Hidden and the Divine, strength to face the problems, his agonising country faced, and to bind the terrors of the time. The perfect and supreme Spirit of Guru Nanak was ablaze within him. God had crowded him

with spiritual sovereignty of the world. He had become, the yet unproclaimed, King of the Kingdom of Spirit. In utter humility, he maintained a veil of silence over it. Why need the sun proclaim the advent of its own light ? It will blaze and shine and announce its dawn on humanity through its burning silence.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] tāt māt mur alakh arādhā
bahu bidh yog sādhnā sādhā
tin jo karī alakh kī sevā
tanṫe bheo prsan gurdevā
Guru Gobind Singh
Bachiter Nātak : Apnī kathā. Ch 6:3, 4

[2] *yog-sādhnā :* The word *yog-sādhna* is used here in etymological sense, and has special significance in Sikh theology and philosophy. It has nothing to do with hatha-yoga, mañtar-yoga or rāja-yoga of Patanjali. Guru Tegh Bahadur practised the Sahajya Yogā and later in his own writings he describes a Yogi thus :

Know such a one to be Yogi,
Who dwells apart in self-control,
And is indifferent to praise or blame ;
To whom cheap iron and glittering gold,
Appear all as one and the same.
In joy and sorrow, in mirth and misfortune,
Tranquil and poised he remains.
Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[3] Amritsar de zile vic Beas station ton dhāī mīl utar ik pind, jis vic Guru Tegh Bahadur apnā Mata Nanakī jī smet cir sīk rahe.
Kahan Singh : *Mahān Kosh.*

[4] (a) Beas nadī upar the thāoṅ
Bakālā ate Butālā dohān de nāoṅ.
Kesar Singh Chiber : *Bañsāvalīnāmā.*

(b) Col. A. S. Mann who has studied the topography of this area quite well is of the opinion that Bakala must be about a mile and half away from the river Beas. There is an indication in Sūraj Prakāsh that it was at some distance from the bank of Beas. So Kesar Singh Chibber's statement does not appear to be literally correct.

[5] jim tum pitā dāgh jal lehio
tatha karo mero saskāro,
Sri Arjan digh prāpat bhaī,
Jest Sudī cauth sasvār
Sri Gangā parlok sidhār
Gurbilās patśāhī chevīñ.

[6] ham te tritiā thān gur baise
tilak Bakāle me le aise,
mere rūp bhed neh koī,
tab lau jīwan tere hoī.
Gurbilās pātśāhī chevīn.

[7] I do not agree with those historians who say that Tegh Bahadur was then ignored because he was too unworldly. How then did he deserve Guruship after his unworldiness had deepened after twenty years of meditation?

[8] Hargobindpure de zamiṅdāre te vsdī āmdānī par caṅgā guzārā huṅdā rihā, te hor log bhī sevā karde rahe.
Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurū-khālsā.* P 264

[9] Guru Tegh Bahadur ji tahāṅ base,
rahe gop'alipt ātam raṅg rase,
kāhu darsan nahī hoe,
rahe ikaṅt tahā pahuṅc na hoe;
jab kab cadh sikar prabh jāvai,
nahī lahai samā kou darśan pāvai.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

[10] The family ties with the descendants of Guru Amar Das, Guru Angad and Bhai Buddha by Holy Mother Nānakī were maintained. Prominent Sikhs also came to seek her blessings and pay homage to her son. The political situation during Baba Tegh Bahadur's period of seclusion can be divided into three distinct periods: (1) 1644-1657 A.D. Shah Jahan's reign (2) 1657-1661 Usurpation of power by Aurangzeb and the last years of Guru Hari Rai (3) 1661-1664 A.D. Guruship of Guru Hari Krishan. The first two periods are delineated in this chapter, the third is described in the next chapter, entitled: "Baba at Bakala".

[11] He (Dara Shikoh) was particularly friendly to Hari Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru and when harassed by his brother Aurangzeb, the Guru declared himself to be an adherent of the Prince.
S. M. Latif: *History of Lahore,* p 64.

[12] saptam mehal agam Hari Rāyā
jin sun dhyān kar jog kamāyā,
caḍh gagan gufā meh rehio samāi,
jeh baith adol smādh lagāe,
sabh kalā kheṅc kar gupt rahāyan,
teh āpan rūp ko neh dikhlāyān,
ioṅ is prakār gubār macāyan
teh dev aṅs ko bahu camkāyan.
Bhai Gurdas: II *Var* 22.

[13] *Punjab State Gazetteer* Vol. III, Bilaspur, 1910.

[14] Guru Hari Rai passed one year in Kiratpur, when in the year one thousand fifty-five Hijri, Najabat Khan, son of Mirza Sharukh, under orders from Emperor Shah Jahan mobilised the army and took possession of the country of Tara Chand

and took the Raja prisoner, Guru Hari Rai, went to Thapal which is near one of the possessions of Raja Karam Prakash near Sirhind. The Sikhs call Hari Rai the seventh Mahal. He is very well known to the author.

Dabistān-i-Mazāhib.

[15] Jadunath Sarkar. *Aurangzeb,* p. 45.

[16] S. Lane-poole: *Aurangzeb,* p 36-37.

[17] "Aurangzeb who was very cunning, clever and ambitious aimed at succeeding the throne. He administered a tiger's whiskers to his brother who became dangerously ill. Shah Jahan humbled himself before the Guru and addressed him the following letter. "My son Dara Shikoh is now very ill. His remedy is in thy hands. If thou give the *myrobalan* and the clove which are in thy store house and add to them thy prayers, thou wilt confer an abiding favour on me. The Guru was pleased that the Emperor had such confidence in him as to write such a friendly letter and consented to give the articles.

M. A. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion,* Vol. IV p 278-9.

[18] Kavi Santokh Singh: *Sūraj Prakāsh.* Rās 9, Aňsū 2.

[19] Jadunath Sarkar. *Aurangzeb,* p 45.

[20] Ibid, p 47.

[21] Lane-pool. *Aurangzeb,* p 35-36.

[22] Jadunath Sarkar. *Aurangzeb,* p 46.

[23] Lane-pool. *Aurangzeb,* p 27.

[24] Ibid, p 50

[25] Kavi Santokh Singh: *Sūraj Prakāsh,* Rās 9, Aňsū 16 and 17.

[26] According to Macauliffe and Kavi Santokh Singh: "Dara Shikoh proceeded to Kiratpur in the hope of obtaining the Guru's assistance, but found him absent. The Prince then sent him a second letter which reached him in Khadur. The result was that the Guru and the Prince had an interview on the right banks of Beas" (The Sikh Religion Vol. IV p. 302).

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh in their "History of the Sikhs", p 48, say: "Pursued by the army of Aurangzeb, Prince Dara went to Goindwal and asked the Guru to prevent his being captured."

I have not found any historical evidence proving this fact, nor have the learned writers quoted any. The actual dates and facts of history and Dara's movements during this period are as follows: "Dara left Delhi in the second week of June 1658 A.D. and reached Goindwal on July 1, 1658 A.D. and Lahore on July 3, without being immediately pursued by Aurangzeb who was still consolidating his positions at Delhi and Agra. Guru Hari Rai was at Goindwal and Khadur where he had gone on the invitation of the descendants of Guru Amar Das and Guru Angad. It is quite probable that he met Holy Mother Nanaki and Baba Tegh

Bahadur on the way to Amritsar." At this period, the whole of the Punjab was strongly attached to Dara, the province had long been his Viceroyalty and was now held by his faithful deputy Sayyid Ghairat Khan. Seizing the Imperial treasure at Lahore, Dara assembled an army of 20,000 men and sent off strong detachments to guard the ferries of Sutlej at Talwan and Rupar. (J. N. Sarkar, p 76). Guru Hari Rai immediately returned to Kiratpur. Aurangzeb made no move till he crowned himself on July 21. Bahadur Khan was the first general of Aurangzeb to attack Dara's army at Rupar on August 5, full two months after the meeting between Guru Hari Rai and Dara, at Goindwal. While Dara's army fell back from Sutlej ferry to Goindwal ferry, Aurangzeb had reached the Sutlej by this time. It was now impossible for Guru Hari Rai to send any help to Dara's army at Goindwal, without coming into conflict with the huge army of Aurangzeb. What help could Guru Hari Rai's 2,200 horsemen render, when the defence of 20,000 strong army collapsed within a matter of days? Dara fled from Lahore on August 18 and his dispair of success infected the army. Aurangzeb occupied Lahore on August 19, 1658 A.D. It is therefore quite clear that Guru Hari Rai did not give any military or financial assistance to Dara, and as advised by his farsighted predecessor Guru Hargobind, he scrupulously kept out of the conflict.

[27] Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*. P 48.

[28] Punjab Gazetteer, Vol. III, Bilaspur, 1910.

[29] Ayū thī chuterī terāṅ barakh Manīe kī,
Māi Dās gail laike gurāṅ dhig āe jī
satveṅ Guran de tīr Kīratpure 'c pahuṅc
baṅdaṅ karat sīs Manīa nivāe jī
sundar sarūp honhār dekh Manīe ko
Guru Hari Rai kihā mukhoṅ eh alāe ji,
"Manīa eh gunīa hovaigā bic jag sāre
Seva Harī srī mukhon kihā sunāe jī.
Seva Singh *Shahīd Bilās:* Ed. Garja Singh. P. 55

[30] Kiratpur kich kāl jab, Mania rehā hajūr
bartan mānjan laṅgar ke, man kī mail kar dūr
banī padai seva karai, hīai harkh badhāe
doe barakh kā samā im bīt geo teh āe.
Ibid.

[31] tīr Satdrav nadī ke basai Khaipur gāv
Lakhi Rai teh thān rahe, Yādav vansī rāv,
jān utarī ditā ādar bhatan gaun sunāe,
khāe pīae, suāe, janī tadke līe uthāe,
gunī gyanī beh matā pakāyā phere tat divāe;
seva Hari viāhī Sīte, Yādav Lakhi Rai.
Ibid. P: 56.

[32] viāh kare jab Manīā, kich kāl rehio apne greh māh

Jethā, Dayālā, baḍo Bhāī es thī, gail inān pur-Kīrat āe.
Ibid.

[33] Khan Singh : *Mahan Kosh,* says that Mati Das and Sati Das were four brothers and all were sons of Bhai Piraga. Later research and newly found documents, the *Bhat Vahīs,* give the correct chronology as follows : "Mati Das and Sati Das were sons of Hiranand, grand sons of Lakhi Das and great grand-sons of Pirag Das. Both of them were executed by Aurang-zeb along with Guru Tegh Bahadur.
Bhatvahī—Multānī Sindhī.

[34] sune putar mai bacan jo kahoṅ,
Dilipat soṅ jāe tum milo ;
kich saṅk bhai nahī man mo gilo
tumara bacan suphal sabh hoe
tum sman balī nahī koe ;
jo puche so sat keh dīje,
kichu karāmāt pragat nahī kījai.
Mehmā Prakāsh : Sākhī, 183.

[35] Uptil recently this copy of the Adi Granth was found at the Dehra of Ram Rae at Dehra Dune. For some reasons best known to him, the present Mahant has removed it to some place and does not show it to the visitors. The date of completion of the copy is given as follows: Saṁbat 1716 (A.D. 1659) Vaisākh māh (month of March) Vaisākh vadī 1 de din granth likhiā. Thus the copy was prepared only about a year and half before Ram Rai left for Delhi.

[36] The letters of the *mulmaṅtra* are not joined together. Written in Guru Hari Rai's own hand, the letters are separate, thereby disproving the theory that to separate the letters is not permissible.

[37] Had Ram Rai maintained his integrity in the presence of Aurangzeb and fearlessly explained the central thoughts of Sikh Philosophy he would surely have inherited Gurushiip. Cunningham wrongly ascribes Ram Rai's disinherision to his being born of a maid servant. Ram Rai and Sri Hari Krishan were the sons of the same mother Sulakhnī:

Baba Gurditta pitā, Rāj Kaur māt
Hari Rai Sulakhnī patai,
Hari Krishan, Ram Rai tāt
Kavi Saundha : *Gurpranālī*
Baba Guruditta pitā, Rāj Kaur māt
Sulakhnī pat Hari Rai Gur
Hari Krishan Rām Rai tāt.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

Guru Hari Rai did not marry any maid servant. "It would be preposterous for Ram Rai to lay claim to the *gaddi* if he had been the son of a hand maiden" says Dr. Gokal Chand Narang in this book *Transformation of Sikhism.* P. 111 f.n.

[38] Similar miracles were shown to Jahangir also by an Occult

Mystic and are recorded by the Emperor in his autobiography. More detailed explanation will be given in the Chapter on Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit to Assam.

39 baḍ siśvarz her kar phūlā,
asai satgur ur te bhūlā,
ab hamre mukh lāge nahīñ,
raho āp turkeśar pāhi
ut hī bas kar bais bitāvo,
aprādhi Sri Nānak ker,
ham sioñ ner hoe kim pher,
nij man te ham tyāgan kario,
gurtā pad te so parhario.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 9 Aňsū 58.

40 Hari Rai refused to go to Delhi, but sent his eldest son Ram Rai to represent him there. Ram Rai effected a compromise with the Emperor and yielded on many points to the advice of Aurangzeb, with the result that the latter tendered his political patronage, which was accepted by Ram Rai. The news of the moral weakness of Ram Rai reached the Guru, who ordered that his son should never come to see him. "Let him go whither he please," said the Master, "he is not my son, when he has compromised the Gospel of Guru Nanak."

Puran Singh: *Ten Masters*, p 82.

Masiri-i-Alamgiri (Eng. tr: page 200-1) reports a story in which Aurangzeb quotes quite a difficult verse of Guru Nanak from the *Adi Granth*. The eminent linguistic philosopher Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has written a learned article on it in *Indian Linguistics*, Volume 25, 1964. At the end of the article Dr. S. K. Chatterjee poses a question: "Where did Emperor Aurangzeb get this verse from? We find the answer in the historical events of this chapter. Ram Rai, the elder son of Guru Hari Rai, who was treated as a saint-theologian of Sikh faith remained associated with the court of Aurangzeb from October 1661-1664 A.D. The fact that Aurangzeb bestowed on Ram Rai a *jaghir* of seven villages comprising the present city of Dehradune, and that he did not impose his will on the succession issue either before or after the death of Guru Hari Krishen shows that the Emperor was favourably inclined towards the Sikh movement upto this period.

CHAPTER X

THE BABA IS AT BAKALA

PRECOCIOUS genius and highly efficient intellectual and spiritual training made Hari Krishen a perfect leader, competent to guide the followers of Guru Nanak, in one of the most critical periods of their history. His sweet and docile spirit, his musical voice, his deep mystic understanding the scriptures had already secured him greater respect and eminence than his elder brother Ram Rai. Once, both Ram Rai and Hari Krishen recited the *Japji* (Guru Nanak's Morning Meditation) in the presence of their father, Guru Hari Rai. The general impression was that Hari Krishen's recitation could even melt wood and stones. Even the wooden chair on which he was sitting, say the chroniclers, in their symbolic description, became so soft, that a pin could be pierced into it.[1]

"At this very early age, he was called to lead and teach the widespread and vigorous Sikh community. He did his work well. He sent out missionaries to the farthest outposts of the religion, and himself taught with all confidence, those who asked him of truth."[2]

When Ram Rai came to know that the crown of Guruship had been bestowed on his six year old younger brother, the loss of what he thought was his right of inheritance, became so distressing and galling to him that he was prepared now to fight for the spiritual leadership of the Sikh community, with all the resources at his command.[3] His followers, who numbered about a hundred, inflamed his jealousy and injured vanity. With all his display of miracles, and his influence in the court, Ram Rai had failed to win over the leading Sikhs of Delhi and Punjab. Every Sikh knew, that in the past also, the Guruship had always been bestowed on the most perfect and deserving member of the family, and not on the eldest son. No one could assert his right by reason of seniority, age, political or social influence, nor could any one acquire it by force.

As a last resort, Ram Rai approached Emperor Aurangzeb to help him to acquire the crown of Guruship. Prominent

Sikhs of Delhi like Lakhi Rai, Kalyan Chand, the priest of the Delhi Dharamsala, Bhai Gurbakhsh Mal,[4] the Sikh Missionary posted at Delhi, appealed to Ram Rai to desist from creating a new crisis by seeking the support of a bigoted Emperor like Aurangzeb, who had not spared any of his own kith and kin. Where Prithi Mal and Meharban had failed to capture the spiritual leadership of the Sikhs from Guru Arjan and Guru Hargobind respectively, through false propaganda and the patronage of the rulers, his chances were a far cry. But the overweening arrogance of young Ram Rai, flattered by his much talked about powers of performing miracles, and the Emperor's favourable attitude towards him, gave him the false hope, that by making a legalistic claim to Guruship, he could acquire it by the armed might of the Mughal Emperor.

Aurangzeb agreed to summon Hari Krishen to Delhi, to find out whether he was really superior and more influential than Ram Rai. Ram Rai expressed the view that Hari Krishen might not respond to the mere request to come. A warrant of arrest was the surer way of compelling his younger brother to come. The Sikhs of Delhi were seriously disturbed over the situation. Fortunately, both Mirza Raja Jai Singh and his son Ram Singh were at Delhi at that time. The Delhi Sikhs approached them to intervene and prevent any injury to Guru Hari Krishen which the intrigues of Ram Rai and the fanaticism of Aurangzeb might cause.[6]

"Inspired by Rajput tradition, Jai Singh had proved himself as wildly brave as any of his ancestors. Now at the age of sixty, the greatest of all feudatory nobles, he ranked immediately after the princes of the blood. The reckless cavalier had now grown into a shrewd and cautious commander, a wise counseller and skilful diplomat, employing four languages with equal case. With the name and prestige of a princely family, he brought to the Mughal court the subtlety and exquisite address of an ancient culture."[7]

"In diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Whenever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt

straightforwardness, and impolitic chivalry, which we are apt to associate with Rajput character."[8]

Raja Jai Singh took the responsibility of persuading Guru Hari Krishen to come to Delhi, and also took assurance from the Emperor, that as long as the Emperor was not satisfied about the succession issue, Guru Hari Krishen would stay in one of his bungalows, as his guest. Aurangzeb readily agreed, as there was no political issue involved. Raja Jai Singh sent a courtier, named Diwan Paras Ram, with gifts and presents, requesting Guru Hari Krishen to come to Delhi.[9]

For the love and respect shown by Raja Jai Singh, Guru Hari Krishen left for Delhi. He requested his mother to accompany him, and she at once agreed. Fearing that the bigoted Emperor might cause the death of the Child-prophet, thousands of Sikhs decided to follow him to Delhi and fight for his physical protection, if necessary. Aurangzeb had only recently executed two eminent Muslim saints: Sarmad, the pantheist Sufi saint of Jewish origin, and Shah Muhammed Badakhshi, a disciple of Mian Mir, and a facile composer of mystic poetry.[10]

The fearless Guru Hari Krishen strictly ordered his followers not to follow him in such large numbers.[11] He took with him about twenty to thirty leading Sikhs, chief among whom were : Bhai Dargha Mal, the Diwan ; his nephews Bhai Mati Das, and Bhai Sati Das ;[11] the three dedicated brothers, Bhai Jetha (later Jetha Singh), Bhai Dayala (Dayal Das), Bhai Mani Ram (later known as Bhai Mani Singh) ;[12] Bhai Gurditta the High Priest, Masand Gurbaksh Mal.[13]

Guru Hari Krishen was received by Raja Jai Singh and his son Ram Singh with great courtesy, and was lodged in his bungalow at Raisina.[14] This was the area where Raja Jai Singh's armies were stationed and was known as Jai Singhpura. The shrewd Rajput prince watched Guru Hari Krishen's personality, character, and influence, closely in order to give his correct impressions to the Emperor. He was found to be quite a contrast of his brother. He entered Delhi like a prophet, with an entirely different spirituality, different outlook, from his magician brother. While Ram Rai was a thoroughly human lad, frankly ambitious, earnest, jealous, and at times, timid to the point of cowardice and sycophancy, Guru Hari Krishen was gentle but majestic in manners,

humble but dignified in demeanour, fearless and indifferent towards the sway of worldly rulers, princes and kings. His wisdom and spirituality silenced the most sceptic pundits, and there was not a trace of ill-will, jealousy or bitterness in him. At his magnetic touch the weak grew strong, and the sick were made well.

While Ram Rai sought the patronage and favours of the Emperor and the Nawabs, Guru Hari Krishen not only avoided meeting the Emperor, but disregarded all suggestions urging him to meet and impress the Mughal Ruler.[15] Ram Rai's jealousy and vanity blurred his humanity, and he boasted of his influence at the court, while Guru Hari Krishen moved among the poor, the sick, and the destitute. Cholera and smallpox were raging in the humbler dwellings of the city.[16] There, Guru Hari Krishen went every day with food, clothes, and medicine. Gurbakhsh Mal, Lakhi Rai, and Diwan Dargah Mal were asked to spend all the offerings daily made by the people to the Guru, to allay the physical and mental suffering of the poor. While Ram Rai performed cheap miracles in the court, Hari Krishen performed the miracle of healing and giving solace to the sick, and peace of mind to those living in agony. He took his stand with the lower classes only. In his search for wealth, power and position, Ram Rai was busy all the day increasing his influence at the court, impressing Ministers with his unusual gifts, and trying to get Aurangzeb's order to oust Guru Hari Krishen from the leadership of the Sikhs. The young prophet who gave food to the hungry, medicine to the sick, clothes to the naked, homes to the shelterless, peace to the troubled minds, and light to the thirsting soul, won more adherents than any religious leader living in Delhi at that time. Stories of his healing powers spread throughout the city, and the fact that whoever met him and saw him, his sufferings and agony were dispelled, is recorded later in history by Guru Gobind Singh.

> Contemplate the spirit of Hari Krishen,
> The sight of whom dispelleth all sorrow and suffering.
> Guru Gobind Singh : *Dasm Granth.*

Hindus and Muslims followed the young prophet as a moth follows the flame. The informers of Aurangzeb gave very impressive reports about the unusual powers and magnetic

personality of the young Guru. Raja Jai Singh reported that he had tested the child's omniscience in a number of ways.[18] Raja Jai Singh was able to persuade the Emperor to leave the choice of the spiritual leader to the Sikhs, and a deputation of leading Sikhs made it clear to the Emperor that their choice was Guru Hari Krishen. Aurangzeb desired to keep the trump card of Sikh leadership in his own hands, and he might not have hesitated to impose the leader of his own choice, as is done by the Delhi rulers up to this day, but the support of Raja Jai Singh and his son Ram Singh, and the royal contractors like Lakhi Rai and his son Naghayia, was so strong and exclusive that Aurangzeb accepted Guru Hari Krishen as the unanimous choice of the Sikhs[19], and satisfied Ram Rai by giving him a *Jaghir* (a fief without fee) of seven villages: Khurvadi, Dhamaval, Chamasari, Dhartanwali, Panditwari, Mianwal and Rajpura. Here Ram Rai later built a religious centre of his own, called Ram Rai's Dehra, and around this Dehra has grown the city of Dehradune.[20]

Aurangzeb was, however, anxious to see Guru Hari Krishen, and Raja Jai Singh promised to fix a meeting. But the very next day Guru Hari Krishen had fever, and like a prophet who decided to take the suffering of the people on his own person, he showed signs of an attack of smallpox . Many people had been cured by the tender care he bestowed on them, but for him the disease was symbolic of his will to leave the body. Such was the Will of God also. He had lived with all his superhuman powers in a natural way and he now wanted to die in a natural way. As soon as the Emperor learnt that Guru Hari Krishen was suffering from smallpox, the appointment with him was cancelled. On the fifth day of his illness Guru Hari Krishen indicated to his mother[21] that his end was near, and he sent for all the prominent Sikhs, and asked for a cocoanut, five pice, a copy of the *Pothi Sahib* (*Adi Granth*) and a rosary: the articles of Spiritual Regalia.[22] Everyone wondered who amongst those residing in Delhi would be declared successor. So far, Guru Hari Krishen had not given the slightest indication of any name, nor was it possible to guess any. While everyone sat in suspense of the great expectation, Guru Hari Krishen placed these articles towards the east, bowed before them towards the east, and said, "*Baba Bakale*" "The Baba is at

Bakala".[23] When asked to name him, he again said, "*Baba Bakale*" "The Baba is at Bakala". With his inner eye he could see the Baba of Bakala with whom he was blending his Light, the Light of Guru Nanak's eternal Spirit.[24] He knew that the *Sangat* would find him. Within a month, the young prophet scored a moral victory over his brother and his patron Emperor Aurangzeb.[25] Fearlessly he came, fearlessly he fought for his integrity and ideals and fearlessly he died, remaining imperturbable by the turn of events to the last. Fearlessly he chose a successor, giving one more chance to his pretender brother and many like him, to try to replace Truth with falsehood, the true Prophet by the false prophets. They had failed now, they were bound to fail in the future. Even the most shortsighted would be able to differentiate the sun from the stars with stolen light.[26] On the night of March 30, 1664 A.D. the Light of Hari Krishen (Nanak VIII) blended with the Light of "The Baba at Bakala" (Nanak IX).

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] *Sūraj Prakāsh:* Rās 9 Aňsū 58; *Sikhāň dī Bhagat Māl* by Bhai Manī Singh, *Mehmā Prākāsh*

[2] Duncan Greenlees, *The Gospel of Guru Granth* p xci.

[3] No sooner had this news reached Ram Rai at Delhi than he was greatly exasperated observing, "I am the eldest son and rightful heir, how is it that Harikrishen usurps my place. I am now your servant and hope your Majesty will issue an order for Harikrishen to appear before you, when I will sustain my claim in your presence. The Emperor complied with the request and issued a mandate for Harikrishen to repair to Delhi without delay.

History of Sikhs: W. L. McGregor.

[4] The name of Lakhi Rai as the royal contractor who provided provisions to the Emperor's palace and army is recorded in Bhat Geneological Records (*Vahīs*). The name of Kalyan Chand is recorded in one of Guru Tegh Bahādur's letters, while the name of Gurbakhsh Mal is recorded in *Sūraj Prakāsh.* This Gurbakhsh was different from the Masand Gurbakhsh who was a follower of Ram Rai. Probably it was the same Gurbakhsh Udāsi saint, who was left in charge of Anandpur Sahib, when Guru Gobind Singh left it.

[5] *Mehma Prakāsh* gives quite another version which is not supported by any other historical record. The author, who appears to be very sympathetic towards Ram Rai says: "Srī kartāpurkh Rām Rai jī Delhī the; Srī Harikrishenjī ko asthāpan sun kar prasan bhae. tab Ālamgir Badshāh Srī Ram

Raja kā pakh kartā thaā. Man me baḍā afsos kīa jo Gurujī ne aise āraf kāmal karāmāt valī bete ko tilak gurīāī nahī dīā ; tis par Satguru Harī Krishen jī ko likh bhejā jo ham ko āp ke didār kā baḍā śauk hai. . . . . tab Rām Rai jī lene āe.'

The glorious creative Being Ram Rai was at Delhi. When he came to know that Guru Harī Krishen had succeeded his father he was very happy. The Alamgir Emperor (Aurangzeb) favoured Ram Rai. He expressed great sorrow to Ram Rai that a perfect Saint Scholar like him who could work miracles, had not been given the Guruship. Then the Emperor wrote to Guru Har Krishan that he was anxious to meet him so he should come to Delhi. When Guru Hari Krishen reached Delhi, Ram Rai received him with great affection.

[6] (a) *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 10 *Aňsū* 32-33.
(b) *Mehmā Prakāsh.*

[7] Dennis Kincaid: *The Grand Rebel,* p 101.

[8] Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb:* p 207.

[9] Ram Rai nū matsar dī aisī ag bhaḍkī, jo Delhi vic Aurangzeb nū jāke gadī lain vāste faryād kītī. Bādśhāh ne Gur Harikrishan nūlain vāste Rājā Jai Singh Jaipurī nū hukam dītā. Raja Jai Singh ne apne Diwān Paras Rām nū asvārīāň te nazir bhetā Guru vāste de ke ākhyā ke Kīratpur vic jāke Guru Sahib nū baḍe adab nāl lai ao ; jad Diwān ne pās ā ke arj kītī taň Gurujī ne bacan kītā, asīň Raja de prem karke cale hāň par Badshāh nū darśan nahī devāň ge.
Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 261.

[10] (i) mātā jī ko kehte bhae
ham saňg tum bhī Dilī calo.
yahī bāt hamrī sabh bhalo
bacan mān Matā jī kahā
Soī sat jo tum man cahā
Gulab Singh, *Aṭhveň te Nauveň Pātśāh dā Śahīdī prasaňg.*

(ii) ināň de nāl hazārāň Sikh apne apne kharc lai ke, kam kār kutaṁb nu bisār ke, is irāde nāl tur pae ke auraňgzeb ne Sarmad jehe baḍe Pīr fakīr marvā dite han ; je kar Gurū Sāhīb nū bhi kuch kahe gā, tāň asī othe hī apne prān de devāň ge, par unā dī eh slāh Guru nū pasaňd nā āī.
Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 262.

(iii) "The enforcement of Islamic Orthodoxy gave Aurangzeb an opportunity for punishing liberal holymen of his creed. One such was Shah Muhammad Badakhshi, a disciple of Mian Mir and a facile composer of mystic poetry. But the most notable victim of this class was Sarmad, a Sufi of the highest celebrity in India.
J. N. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb p 111.*

[11] Panjokhre piṅd Ambāle pās pahuṅc ke ik lakīr khic ke hukam kītā ke jo koī Guru kā Sikh es lakīr nū tap ke āe so Gurū ka Sikh nahī. eh bacan man ke sabh Sikh othe hī khaḍe rahe. Gurū Sāhib apnī matā samet bīsku Sikhāṅ nū laike . . . . . Dilī śehar Jaipure vic ā utre.

Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 262.

[12] Harikrishen tab Gurū kahāe,
Manīa in kī sev kamāe,
jab Satgur bhānā vartāya,
Guru Bakāle madh alāya,
Manī Mat sāth tab āe;
Guru Bābe de darśan pe;
Jeṭhā Dayālā in ke Bhāī;
rahe hazur Guru sarnāi.

Sewa Singh: *Sahīd Bilās* p 58.

[13] Kavi Santokh Singh: *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 9 *Aṅsū*

[14] The bungalow was subsequently dedicated to the memory of Guru Harikrishen and is still called Bangla Sahib.

[15] Sāhib Turk de mūṅh nā lagan
te Aurṅge hoe kheḥḍe oh nā chadan

Kesar Singh Chhiber: *Bansāvlīnāmā.*

[16] Os samai Dilī vic haije dī bimārī bahut phailī hoī sī, Guruke dilvālī Sikh sidak vale carnāmrit laike bahut log rājī hoe.

Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 262.

[17] Srī Harī Krishen dhyāīai,
jis diṭhai sabh dukh jāe.

Guru Gobind Singh: *Dasm Granth*

[18] When Raja Jai Singh's wife the Rani of Jaipur invited Guru Har Krishan, she dressed herself as a maidservant, while another beautiful lady was presented in the dress of a princess. She wanted to test whether the young Guru finds out who the real Rani is. It is said that when Guru Hari Krishan came to the palace he at once recognised the Rani who then presented to him a salver full of jewels.

[19] (i) The cause, it is said, terminated in a permission being granted to the Sikhs to nominate their priest. When adjusting the contest they elected Hari Krishan.

Forster's *Travels,* p 260.

(ii) The dispute between his son Hari Krishen and Ram Rai was referred to Delhi whither both the parties went and by an Imperial decree of Aurangzeb, the Sikhs were allowed to elect their own priest. They chose Hari Krishan.

Malcolm: *Sketch of the Sikhs* p 9.

[20] The *dehrā* round which the city of Dehradune sprang up is the headquarter of the sect founded by Ram Rai. The followers are called *Rāmrāyiās* and by Guru Gobind Singh's injunctions are socially boycotted by baptised Sikhs.

Bakhat Mal: *Khālsānāmā* p 6.

Also see : *Udasīyāñ dī Viṭhīyā :* Randhir Singh, p 507

[21] pañc divas im bītat bhaeyā
tab Matājī ko Satgur kehyā
ab ham param dhām ko jāvaiṅ
tāñ taj jotī jote samāvai
sun bacan bisam Māta bhaī,
Saṅgat sagal bulāe laī.
Sarup Das Bhalla : *Mehmā Prakāsh.*

[22] kis āgai ham mastak tekaiñ,
ko updeśai das bibekain
pūrab rīt Guran kī joī
kim kīnas kai mithai soī,
itādik sun uṭh kar baiṭhe :
"Guru Granth hai pritham bakhānā
Satnām mehmā mehyānā
paise pañc naler mangāe
geh kar dhar kar sīs nivāī,
bole sabhan karyo sunāe bisāle,
basat Babā bic Bakāle.
Santosh Singh : *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 10, *Aṅsū* 55

All the earlier *Janam Sākhīs* mention *"pothī"* (collection of hymns) and *Mālā* (rosary) as essential articles of Spiritual Regalia. A sword was added to it later by Guru Hargobind.

[23] (i) Guru Harikrishan sītla nāl bimār ho gae te es samai 1100 rupai da kaḍāh prasad krāke vaṅdyā, te ik nālīyer, pañj paise gādī ute rakh ke mathā tek ditā te Bhai Budhe de potre Gurdittā de hath deke bacan kītā, Babā Bakāle, arthāt Guru Tegh Bahadur jī Bakale piṅd hain.
Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 262.

(ii) sun saṅgat ke vāk tabe, tin ko pun utar yeh dīyo
sabh jhuth padārath hai jag ke yeh saṅtoh jan kinārīyo ;
Sukh yā jagte bahu bhāñ tahā jeh janak hai man
moh kīyo
ab Bābā jī bīc Bakāle bhae sabh saṅgat dhar
sunai juhiyo.
Gulab Singh : *Aṭhven Nauveñ Pātshāhi* de sahīdī prasaṅg.

(iii) tab sabh saṅgat gur bacan bicārā
jo sun satgur dyāl ucāra
Babā jī ah Bakāle māah
Sabh saṅgat sarsan pāh
Sarup Das Bhalla : *Mehmā Prakāsh*

(iv) vakat calāne sikhān kītī ardās,
garīb nivāj saṅgat chadī kis pās,
us vakat bacan kītā "Baba Bakāle"
āp gae surpur deh jalāe dhan caṅdan nāle.
Kesar Singh Chiber : *Bansavlināmā*

(v) also see *"Parchīāñ Patshāhi dasvīñ :* Khazan Singh *Gurbilās Patsāhī dasvīñ* by Sukha Singh ; *Gurbilās*

patshāhī dasvīn by Bhai Mani Singh (actually written by one of his students).

24 param jot mil jot meh, jagmag jot sarūp,
param tat tateh milio, adbhut athī anūp.

Bhai Gurdas: *Kabit Sweyā*, 2

Srī Harikrishen kripānīdh te pun Tegh Bahadur chab chāi,
dīpak dip siromanī sāhib ādi anādī mahāṅ sukhdāī

Sukha Singh: *Gurbilās patshāhī dasvīn* p 10

25 Hari Krishan bheo aśtam balbīrā,
jin pahuṅc Dehlī tajio sarīrā,
bāl rūp dhario svāṅg racāe,
tab sehje tan ko chod sidhāe,
ioṅ Mughlan sio jarī bahu chārā
vai khud pat sioṅ pahuṅce durbārā,
Auraṅge eh bād racāyīo
tin apnā kul nās karāyio.

Bhai Gurdas II, *pauḍī* 22.

26 sūraj sam neh chapeh kadāī
Sikh Saṅgat le khojai gosāiṅ.

Santokh Singh: *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 10 *Aṅsu* 55

CHAPTER XI

GURU BABA FOUND

APRIL 1664. All eyes of the Sikh world, from Dacca to Kabul, were turned towards Bakala for the self-revelation of the un-named Master. On March 30, the *Baisakhi* (New Year day), when Guru Hari Krishen passed away, he declared that his successor was to be found at Bakala. On that day, the only Baba at Bakala was Baba Tegh Bahadur.[1] When, Holy Mother Sulakhni, Diwan Dargha Mal, the Guru's Prime Minister, Bhai Gurditta, the High priest to whom the articles of Spiritual Regalia were entrusted, Bhai Jetha, Bhai Dayala, Bhai Gurbakhsh Mal, reflected as to who the Baba at Bakala could be, they all thought of Tegh Bahadur, who had spent two decades in silent meditation. According to them, he was the Baba indicated, because he was the only heir apparent residing at Bakala (all the sons of the Guru were addressed as Baba) ; he was also the grand-uncle of Hari Krishen, and as such, was the only one there to be entitled to be called "Baba" (grand-father). He was the only one who had acquired perfection, and was entitled to be called Baba, like Baba Farid, and Baba Nanak. Only a Sodhi and a member of the family could succeed. This was the rule unwillingly established by Guru Amar Das, because his daughter asked for this and only this boon for her singular services. There was no other Sodhi Baba, no other scion of the House of the Guru at Bakala at that time, so they could not think of any one else who could be the possible successor.[2] During the last days Guru Hari Krishen always remembered Baba Tegh Bahadur with tender affection.

The body of Guru Hari Krishen was cremated on the banks of the Jamuna, which place subsequently became a shrine known as "Bala Sahib", most probably because, during his short stay at Delhi, he was addressed by the people as "*Bala Guru*" or "*Bala Patshah*".[3] Mirza Raja Jai Singh and his son Raja Ram Singh were deeply grieved by the circumstances that led to the death of Guru Hari Krishen. They personally attended the funeral and deemed it an honour to be called blessed disciples of the Guru.[4]

After performing the last rites of her son, Holy Mother Sulakhni and all the prominent Sikhs of the Guru's durbar left for Kiratpur. As soon as they reached Kiratpur, they learnt that many false pretenders had become self-appointed successors of Guru Hari Krishen and the problem of finding the true Baba, which at first seemed simple and logically conclusive, had now become complicated; and the competition among the pretenders had caused confusion worst confounded.

Nearly twenty-two pretenders set themselves up as successors to Guru Hari Krishen at Bakala.[5] The Sodhis of Lahore, the *Mina* Sodhis of Amritsar, the descendants of Suraj Mal and many impostor-Sodhis who acquired certificates from Pandas and Pundits to declare that they were Sodhi Babas, had bought some houses and set up tents, and employed agents to do propaganda for them, and win supporters even on payment. All material means of inducement including bribery and enticement were used by the paid advocates and propagandists of each impostor guru.[6]

The most notoriously noisy pretender who pitched his camp at Bakala and organised a vigorous propaganda to capture Guruship by pettifogging, chicanery, and imposture was Dhir Mal,[7] the elder son of Baba Gurditta, who had been kept at a distance by his sensitive father, and driven out of Kiratpur by his grandfather, Guru Hargobind.

He was at Kartarpur when Guru Hari Krishen died. As soon as he came to know that the ninth Guru was to reveal himself at Bakala, he was the first to pitch his camp there. There were two attractive features of his mendacious claim to guruship, which misled many people. He claimed to be the only direct descendant of the eldest son (Crown Prince) Baba Gurditta, whose son and grandson had so far reigned as seventh and eighth Guru. A more attractive feature of his claim was that he possessed the first compiled copy of *Adi Granth*, prepared by Guru Arjan. To plead his cause he employed an errant knave and notorious rogue named Shinha.[8] Ram Rai wisely kept out of the contest. Having been defeated in his battle with his younger brother, he knew full well that he had no chances of competing with his grand-uncle, Tegh Bahadur. From Delhi he went to his newly acquired *jaghir* in Dehradun.[9]

Guru Tegh Bahadur lived in the majestic silence of his inner illumination.[10] He had experienced the blending of the Light of Guru Hari Krishen with the light of his soul. He had felt the blessing of inner transformation into a new manifestation of the eternal Spirit of Guru Nanak. He had intuitively received the call from the Indwelling God, to carry the torch of Guru Nanak to the farthest corners of the country. He had been blessed and favoured by God for his *tapasya* of love for Him.

His wife Mata Gujari knew, from the spiritual experiences she shared with her husband, that he had now received the Lord's command to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of Guruship of Sikh faith. His mother Nanaki knew that the great day for which she had been waiting had come. She was happy that she had lived to witness the crowning of her noble son, for which she had been waiting, and anticipating for twenty years. The day of the great expectation had come. A great wish of the pious mother had been fulfilled. But her son, Tegh Bahadur, remained undisturbed and unmoved by the noise and commotion about "the revelation of the Guru at Bakala. He who had been blessed would not reveal himself. He refused to set up a propaganda booth in the open market of the impostors. He refused either to compete or to challenge the diverse claims of twenty-two rival pretenders. Why should a prophet of truth go to the vanity fair of preachers of falsehood ? Why should the sun give up its majestic position of shining in the solitude of its sovereign splendour, and choose to twinkle among the fading stars ? Even the blind will be able to see His Light. Neither the affectionate entreaties of his mother[11] nor the devout persuasion of his brother-in-law Kirpal, and other close relatives, and associates, moved Baba Tegh Bahadur to come out of his godlike silence of *Nirvana,* and declare himself the successor of Guru Hari Krishen. Fearing, that out of extreme renunciation, he might surrender his right, or it might be usurped by some clever impostor like Dhir Mal, Holy Mother Nanaki wrote to Baba Dwarka Das, a descendant of Guru Amar Das, to come to his aid.[12] When the messenger reached Goindwal and gave the letter to Dwarka Das, he reflected seriously over the matter, and immediately wrote to Bhai Garhia and Bhai Gurditta to come to Bakala to remove the confusion that had been created by twenty-two

impostors calling themselves the ninth guru of the Sikhs, while the real Guru remained hidden from public eye.

At Kiratpur Diwan Dargha Mal, Bhai Gurditta and others waited for the news about the revelation of the true Guru, so that they could bestow on him the articles of Spiritual Regalia. The advocates of all the impostor gurus had arrived there with gifts, presents, and brilliant offers and promises, of high positions in the Guru's durbar to each one of them.[13] Baba Tegh Bahadur had not sent anyone. The impostor gurus knew that the final declaration would be made by Bhai Gurditta and Bhai Dargha Mal, who possessed the articles of Spiritual Regalia. No one could really establish his claim till it was confirmed by Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, and Diwan Dargha Mal the Prime Minister of the out-going Guru. The confirmation was to take place in an open ceremony. So there was hectic activity to canvass the support for various claimants at Kiratpur also. After receiving the letter of Baba Dwarka Das they all left for Bakala.[14]

Dhirmal not only misunderstood the silence of Baba Tegh Bahadur, but even tried to take a mean advantage of it. He was conscious of the fact that Baba Tegh Bahadur was the only "Baba" at Bakala on the day Guru Hari Krishen died. He was also aware that spiritually, morally, and in other qualities of leadership he was no match for Baba Tegh Bahadur. So he visited Baba Tegh Bahadur now and then and addressing him, "My dear and honoured uncle," tried to persuade him not to fight for his claim. Knowing his great spirit of renunciation, he even tried to persuade him to accept Dhir Mal as the ninth guru.[15] Baba Tegh Bahadur smiled and maintained a dignified silence over all these mischievous suggestions. Holy Mother Nanaki, however, firmly told him: "The crown of spiritual sovereignty will go to him in whom the perfect Light of Guru Nanak shines completely. Bhai Dargha Mal and Baba Gurditta are coming soon. They have the articles of Spiritual Regalia. He who deserves guruship will get it." Dhir Mal became nervous and panicky and ordered his notorious agent Shihan to intensify his propaganda.

As soon as Dwarka Das, the scion of Bhalla family of Goindwal, received Holy Mother Nanaki's letter, he wrote to Bhai Garhia, the well known apostle of Amritsar district to

accompany him to Bakala. When, after a few days, the two sages entered the city they were surrounded by boosters and adulators of various impostors. They offered them sweets, fruit, and countless precious gifts, which they politely refused. Some even dared to whisper in their ears offers of large sums of money, and high positions in the pontificate, if they helped in the selection of the pretender they represented.[16] Knowing their eminent position in the Sikh community, Dhir Mal personally went to receive them. He paid them homage and invited them to pay homage to the first original compiled volume of *Adi Granth*, which of course they could not refuse. Dhir Mal then argued that Guru Hari Krishen's last utterance of the revelation of "Baba at Bakala" referred to him, saying: "My father, Baba Gurditta, was the eldest Baba, while Tegh Bahadur, my uncle, is the fifth. I being the eldest son of Baba Gurditta, am the living embodiment of his spirit. I am therefore the true Baba, heir apparent. Because I was at Bakala on that particular day, so the utterance of Guru Hari Krishen refers to me."[17] "Fine logic", remarked Bhai Garhia, "If no one, not even your father, Baba Gurditta, declared, or ever admitted that you are the embodiment of his spirit, how can you do so nearly twenty five years after his death. Baba Gurditta went to heaven during the lifetime of his father and is not living now. The only living Baba in Bakala on the day of Guru Hari Krishen's death and even now is Baba Tegh Bahadur. We acknowledge no other."[18] When Dhir Mal turned to Dwarka Das, the scion of the Bhalla family of Guru Amar Das, gravely said: "Well Dhir Mal, have you ever reflected over the following lines of *Japji* :

thāpiā na jāe,
kītā na hoe
āpe āp, nirañjan soe
He cannot be installed,
He cannot be created;
He is Self-Existent
He is stainlessly pure.
Japjī 5

These lines clearly state that neither God nor the Guru can either be installed, the way these crafty advocates of twenty-two pretenders are trying to do, nor can the Guru be created or made the way Kingmakers make leaders through propa-

ganda. Just wait and you will see the true Guru will reveal himself, and when his Light shines all these devils of darkness, posing as successors to Guru Hari Krishen, will disappear."[19]

Turning down all other offers of hospitality, gifts, and honour, they moved on to the house of Baba Tegh Bahadur. Holy Mother Nanaki was very happy that they had come to reveal the truth to the people. Both of them respectfully touched her feet in humble adoration.

Bhai Garhia jokingly asked Holy Mother Nanaki, what she would give in charity to the *Sangat,* if he persuaded Baba Tegh Bahadur to reveal himself and end all this confusion. "Ten thousand dinars or more if you wish," she replied in the same humorous strain. Then they all burst into laughter. The joke was a humorous reflection on what was happening in Bakala.[20]

A disciple then announced the arrival of Diwan Dargah Mal, Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, and all the prominent Sikhs of Guru Hari Krishen's durbar from Kiratpur. They were respectfully carrying the articles of Spiritual Regalia and a few personal gifts from Holy Mother Sulakhni. The persuasion of Dhir Mal, and the propaganda of all other impostor gurus failed to attract them. They quietly moved on to the house of Baba Tegh Bahadur and were happy to find eminent Sikhs of Amritsar district, like Dwarka Das and Bhai Garhia there. After greeting the Holy Mother and Mata Gujari they all went into the room in which Baba Tegh Bahadur was seated. He received each one of the eminent apostles with gracious affection.

Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, then spoke with devout spiritual fervour : "Gurudeva, we who were in the presence of Guru Hari Krishen when he left for his heavenly abode, and we who have been entrusted with the task of announcing his successor, "the Baba at Bakala", and performing the ceremony of enthronement of the rightful successor, have no doubt that the Light of Guru Nanak now shines in your noble soul. You are the Baba who was at Bakala at the time of the declaration of the successor, and you are the Baba whom the *Hazuri Sangat,* headed by the Diwan of Guru Hari Krishen's durbar, declares the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, the ninth embodiment of the eternal Spirit of Guru Nanak."[21] Placing

the cocoanut and five pice before Baba Tegh Bahadur everyone bowed before the new Guru, in respectful submission to acknowledge him as the ninth Guru. The scions of Bhalla and Trehan families, the descendants of Guru Amar Das and Guru Angad Dev, all the eminent Sikhs of Guru Hari Krishen's durbar, like Bhai Dayal Das, Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das, Bhai Mani Ram, and others, bowed reverently in humble adoration. They then sought the permission of Guru Tegh Bahadur to inform the whole outside world about the final and irrevocable enthronement of Guru Tegh Bahadur on the pontific throne of Guru Nanak. They also begged the Guru to give open audience to the seekers of truth and prevent any further exploitation by twenty-two impostor gurus.

Guru Tegh Bahadur then delivered what may be termed his first sermon to his chosen disciples and leading apostles. In utter humility he said: "The moral and spiritual responsibilities attached to Guru Nanak's *gaddi* (throne) are actually too heavy to be shouldered by a humble servant of God like me.[22] But the call of Almighty God has come as His inexorable Will, which cannot be disobeyed. The last wishes of Guru Hari Krishen also reached me in my silent communion with the divine Spirit, which has now been confirmed by all of you, who have had the honour to serve the seventh and eighth Gurus, and are acknowledged as the most trusted and enlightened apostles of the Guru's durbar. I have given my word to serve in this capacity to my God and to the eternal Spirit of Guru Nanak, who have assured me of their grace and love. I cannot refuse your request as you represent the *Sangat;* you are the true bearer of Guru Hari Krishen's last wishes; and you Bhai Gurditta, as the High Priest and descendant of the great sage, Bhai Buddha, are entitled to set the seal on the issue of succession. Now that you have acknowledged me as your Guru, promise me, that you will obey my first and most important command, which is, not to set up any camp in the vanity fair outside on my behalf, and not to declare or announce me as the ninth Guru, to the crowd that is judging gurus by material values, and by the amount of wealth they are able to display. The Sikh Gurus have never sought such cheap popularity, and they have never adopted such ignoble methods to assert their wisdom and light as are being adopted by pretenders outside. Promise

me, every one of you, that you will maintain a dignified silence, and not drag me into competition with them. If you do so you will incur my displeasure."

All bowed down in humble acquiescence, but Bhai Garhia remained standing eager to say something, which he thought he must say. With tears in his eyes he said: "Master, we dare not disobey any of your commands. Greatly honoured we all feel, to be the first to receive your blessings and to be the first to find the "Baba at Bakala," and to be the first to witness the enthronement of the ninth Guru. But reflect, my Lord, how thousands of people are being misled and misguided daily by impostor gurus and how thousands of innocent people are being exploited, and swindled by these pretenders. This must stop. And it can stop only if they are told the truth. All we want is to tell them that Baba Gurditta, the High Priest, and Diwan Dargah Mal, the Prime Minister of Guru Hari Krishen's durbar, and other leading apostles have crowned you as the ninth Guru, and that the articles of Spiritual Regalia have already been bestowed on you. Our silence may be misunderstood just as your silence has been misunderstood. Permit us, Gurudeva, to go outside and just declare to the public that you have been enthroned as the ninth Guru. Many innocent souls will be saved from the confusion and trouble they are encountering. The exploitation of the ignorant by the impostor gurus will stop."

To this Holy Mother Nanaki added her own sweet-tongued plea saying: "My son, thou art the Guru Elect. Without thy spiritual guidance, darkness and confusion prevails outside. Go reveal thyself, as these great apostles desire and statiate the thirst of innumerable seekers of divine wisdom."[23]

There was a compassionate smile on the radiant face of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Then addressing the apostles he said : "My friends, my children, my brethren, why should you fear that if we live in silence and faith, the torch of Guru Nanak's ideals may be wrested from us by some impostors. Guru Nanak's eternal light is the indwelling Divinity, which cannot be acquired the way it is being sought by Dhir Mal and others. Impostor gurus have tried to wrest guruship from the true Gurus in the past and have failed. They will go on trying in the future, and will fail. How long can false prophets pretend to be the bearer of the Light which they do not have?

How long can false minds reflecting a false philosophy continue to misguide the people? How long can false mysticism delude the seekers of truth? When Guru Angad hid himself for many months, to keep away from the din and noise of the pretenders, did he cease to be the Guru? When Dasu and Datu kicked and pushed Guru Amar Das into elected silence and solitude, did the light of Guru Nanak cease to shine in him, or was any one able to deprive him of the spiritual authority given him by Guru Angad? How long could the pretenders misguide people ? It is the law of life, that Truth and Light wait patiently to be revealed to the world, through the silence of the seeker's agony." Everyone was silent. A light of understanding was shining on the faces of all the apostles.

There arrived in Bakala a rich trader with a large convoy of horses, bullocks, camels, and carts, carrying tents and goods, well guarded by a number of armed men. His tents were pitched on the outskirts of Bakala, and armed guards posted around them. People flocked to see this man, whose personality, entourage, and splendour, surpassed that of all the pretenders to the throne of Guru Nanak. People wondered whether he was a new pretender guru, who had arrived a bit late, or was he a *masand* (bishop) who had come with offerings and disciples of his diocese, or was he a princely trader carrying provision for the court of Lahore?

It was soon known that the newcomer was a Labana trader[24] of the flourishing *Vanjara*[25] tribe, named Makhan Shah. Stalwart, brawny, broad shouldered, Makhan Shah appeared to be a tribal chief from his appearance, and looked like an aristocrat from his princely robes and dress. He was a Labana *Vanjara,* who hailed from the village Tanda[26] in the Jehlum district. Through land, sea-coast, but mainly through river routes,[27] his convoys and ships provided provisions to the Mughal army, wherever it moved for imperialistic exploits. Only recently, a ship carrying his goods was caught up in a storm. His life and goods were in great danger. So helpless was he that he knelt down and prayed to God and Guru Nanak, to help him to safety. He vowed that if by the grace of the Guru he landed at the nearest port safely, he would donate five hundred dinars[28] to the Guru for charitable purposes.

Makhan Shah's ship steered safely out of the wild storm. He felt that his life and goods were saved by the grace of the Guru. Therefore the first thing he did was to fulfil his vow. He first went to Delhi[29] where he learnt the distressing news that Guru Hari Krishen had passed away. At Delhi he also came to know that the new Guru was to reveal himself at Bakala. But, when he reached Bakala, he was surprised to learn that twenty-two persons were posing as the ninth guru of the Sikhs. Being a disciple of Guru Hari Rai, well versed in Sikh traditions, and the history of its leadership, he knew that only one Guru could succeed Guru Hari Krishen. So he thought that it would be a serious mistake to treat them all as the real successor. It would also be improper to treat them all as impostors, as one of them was most likely to be ultimately declared the rightful successor. How then was he to know the true from the false prophet? He had not allowed any one to cheat him all his life. Would he be cheated by these false prophets and impostor gurus? No. He made up his mind to put everyone to test. He decided to offer only two dinars to everyone who posed to be Guru Hari Krishen's successor. The true prophet (Guru) would ask for the exact amount he had vowed to give as charity for his cause.[30] It would not be possible for the false and impostor gurus to divine the exact purpose of his visit. Thereby their ignorance, lack of spiritual insight, and character, would be exposed.

Makhan Shah thus decided, to visit about four or five pretenders every day, make the offering of two dinars, discuss theological problems, and wait for a sufficient long time for their response to his secret wish. The true Guru would at once ask for the full amount of five hundred dinars. He who heard his prayers from such a distance, and saved him and all his wealth from the whirlpool of death and destruction, should not find it difficult to divine the purpose of his visit. Not only his own confusion, but the uncertainty, and perplexity that prevailed in every one's mind would end. The veil of obscurity would be torn and the world would see the true Guru.

Early next morning Makhan Shah began his search. "I am like a man," he reflected, "searching for the true Enlightener in the darkness and confusion of *maya*. Like God Him-

self, the Guru is so near now, and yet so distant. He is here visible to the naked eye, yet unseen." It now became clear to him that the search for the true Guru is always a difficult task. It is an inner pilgrimage to the Unknown, that requires discerning mind, pure heart, and a restless search. "I will not rest till I find the true Guru, and seek his blessing and light", he said to himself.

Shihan the *masand* of Dhir Mal had been knocking his door louder than anyone else, ever since he arrived. His face was grim and grave, his eyes were sharp as those of a vulture, and his tongue was smooth and artful. "You have been graciously invited," said he, with a sly smile on his face, "by my master, Dhir Mal, who is the grandson of Guru Hargobind and eldest son of Baba Gurditta. He alone possesses the first recension of *Adi Granth,* compiled by Guru Arjan. Compared to others his following will show what a large number of people acknowledge him as the true guru !" Makhan Shah decided to visit Dhir Mal first.[31]

Under a large canopy sat Dhir Mal on a raised platform, with the historical Holy Book on his right side. A disciple was waving the *chowry* over his head, while in front of him were displayed various offerings of the rich and the poor. Makhan Shah first bowed before the Holy Book, making an offering of five dinars to it.[32] He secretly prayed in the august presence of the Holy Book to be guided to the right Guru, and to be protected from the impostors. Then he bowed before Dhir Mal, placing before him two dinars. Dhir Mal blessed him and offered him a robe of honour (*siropa*).[33]

Makhan Shah then begged Dhir Mal to fulfil his inmost desire for which he had travelled a long way. He sought inner illumination to dispel his confusion and bewilderment, which he expected the true Guru to divine, without his telling him. Dhir Mal acted like an inspired prophet as artfully as he could, but his talk in his own praise, his abusive reflections on others, only created contempt in the mind of Makhan Shah. After spending about three hours with Dhir Mal he came back disappointed and disgusted.

Every day Makhan Shah visited about three or four pretenders. He offered two or three dinars to every one of them and after spending hours near them, he came back with the impression that the twenty-two pretenders were more worldly

than any worldly man. They were utterly devoid of the higher vision of life. His reaction to every one of them was summed up by the following couplet:

He is ignorant and blind,
He poses as the Guru,
Ah, whom can he show the way?
Guru Amar Das: *Gujrī*, p. 491

Neither their talk, nor their behaviour, reflected any spirituality or enlightenment. None of them could divine that he had vowed the offering of five hundred dinars. They were all satisfied with two dinars, and Makhan Shah felt that they were not worth even that. Their hypocrisy, hollowness, and charlatanry, was too glaring to be ignored by an acute observer, and a devout Sikh, well disciplined in the true spirit and traditions of Sikhism.

It was noted by all that Makhan Shah never went twice to any pretender. It was quite apparent from his plan of meeting everyone by turn, that he wanted to visit all, and so find the true Guru. Crowds followed him every day as he moved from the camp of one guru to another guru.

On the day he had met the last one of the twenty-two impostors, he was seen in a very sad state of mind. At night he wondered if the line of the true Guru had ended in a blind alley. Did Guru Hari Krishen make a mistake in indicating the advent of the ninth Guru at Bakala ? It was blasphemous to think so. A perfect Guru, like the great Guru Hari Krishen, certainly could not make such a declaration, if it was not true. Only he was not a perfect Sikh, capable of judging correctly.[34] He should stop looking for the Guru among the impostors. He must search for him elsewhere.

The next morning he woke up worried and perplexed, not knowing what to do. The agents of all the pretenders and a large crowd, was at the door. Everyone thought that he who had been visiting every pretender by turn would declare his final choice that day. Early at dawn, Makhan Shah had recited the *Japji* and *Sukhmani*, and vowed after the prayers that if he did not find the true Guru that day, he would sit in a day and night vigil like Bhakta Dhanna, with his offering, and wait for the true Guru to come to him, and accept it. He would not take any food or drink till the true

Guru revealed himself. He would rather die in the search. than live without seeing him, or acknowledge an impostor to be the Guru. He who saved his life in a sea-storm could certainly save it now by revealing himself, if it was worth living.[35]

He came out of the tent and looked at the advocates of various impostor gurus with indifference, and turning to the crowd he asked: "Is there any other Sodhi Baba in Bakala whom I have not been able to meet as yet ?" The agents and advocates of the impostor gurus at once replied: "There is none besides those you have already met. Be gracious enough to declare your final choice." A shy but shrill voice of a lad, however, contradicted this assertion and said politely:" There is one more Baba, Sir, who lives in the silence of his meditation." "Who is he ?" asked Makhan Shah eagerly; the boy's information gave him some hope of finding the true Guru. "He is Baba Tegh Bahadur ; people sometimes call him, Baba Tegha" replied the boy innocently."[36]

"Ah, who has ever thought of the mad Tegh Bahadur as the possible successor of Guru Hari Krishen ?" interrupted the crafty Shihan, and a number of other agents of the impostors ; "he lives in self-intoxication not knowing the right hand from the left. Go and meet him and he will not even talk to you. He is mentally unfit to perform any secular duties. If he were the 'Baba at Bakala', why did he not declare himself as such. No one has even given him a *manji* (pontific seat) to sit on. He has not even dared to come out of his house. Does it not prove that he is not only unwilling, but is actually unfit to be the Guru Elect ? This boy is misleading you Sir. There is no other claimant to the Guru's *gaddi*."[37]

"He is the only Sodhi Baba living in Bakala for the last many years," said the boy firmly, "All these twenty-two claimants are new comers to Bakala. Baba Tegha is not mad. He is very much loved and respected for his saintliness. Many eminent Sikhs have come from Kiratpur, and are now staying with him. If you have any doubt, Sir, I can show you the house, and you can know the truth yourself, Sir."[38]

Had a grown up man said what the young boy of about fifteen firmly asserted, Makhan Shah might have taken the information as another wheedling cajolery by an agent

of a new impostor. But, coming from an innocent boy of the village, the information created a sensation in the mind of Makhan Shah. Advancing towards the boy he said: "Come, my lad, show me the house of Baba Tegh Bahadur.[39] I can test and distinguish the true from the false Baba in a matter of minutes. God has given me the golden key to unravel this secret."

Makhan Shah followed the boy to the house of Baba Tegh Bahadur. Just before he reached the house, a messenger from Holy Mother Nanaki met him and advised him to meet the Guru alone. This was exactly what Makhan Shah wanted. He wanted to test this Baba without being disturbed by any disconcerting element near him. So he appealed to the crowd to remain outside and he entered the house all alone.

When he opened the door he was greeted by Holy Mother Nanaki. He bowed reverently and touched her feet. She blessed him and guided him through a large court-yard to Guru Tegh Bahadur's room. In the court yard Makhan Shah saw some familiar faces. He recognised Diwan Dargah Mal and Bhai Gurditta, whom he had met at the court of Guru Hari Rai. He was impelled to talk to them, but Holy Mother Nanaki pointed to the room on the right side, wherein sitting in a meditation cell, he would find Guru Tegh Bahadur. As he stepped into the room he felt a strange atmosphere of peace and meaningful silence. The next moment he stood at the entrance of the meditation cell, wherein he could see Guru Tegh Bahadur sitting in the resplendent joy of supreme enlightenment. His face radiated health, vigour, and the glow of an inspired soul. Deeply moved, but without saying a word, he stepped down into the cell, and after placing two dinars before the Guru, he bowed low in humble reverence.

In the enchanting silence of the meditation cell came the soft musical voice of Guru Tegh Bahadur saying to the eager but sceptical visitor: "God bless you, my man, but why only two dinars after pledging to offer five hundred. The Guru is never in need of anything, but a Sikh is expected to keep his pledge, to the Guru."[40]

Like a child who unexpectedly finds his lost mother, like a separated lover, who after weary wanderings through a maze of pathless gloomy forests, suddenly encounters his beloved, Makhan Shah was so over-whelmed by this chance discovery

of the true Guru, that, quite for some time, he could hardly speak. He placed his head on the feet of the Guru, and wept like a child. The love and the light of the Guru swept through his mind, body and soul. The very touch of his hand lighted all dark crevices of his inner being. He was imbued with the love and grace of the Guru.[41]

"Master, Master," cried Makhan Shah, in a pathetic voice, "how impure I was in my heart, and how deluded my sceptical mind is, that I had to knock about so long for a bare glimpse of your noble personality. While you were here all the time, I, a miserable creature, did not even know about your existence. My thirsty soul moved from one dirty pond to another, while the immortal spring of divine life was in the heart of this city. I looked for the swan of heaven among the ravens of the pit. Not only 500 dinars, but all my wealth, possessions, my body, mind, and soul are thine, my *Gurdeva.* Permit me now, most noble Guru, to bring all the gifts I have brought for thee. I will go and fetch them just now. But before I go, I have to make one request, Gurudeva : there are thousands of disciples who are thirsting for a sight of thee, but even before they are able to reach thee, they are misguided by the twenty-two impostors who vie with each other in their claim to be the true successor of Guru Hari Krishen. Be gracious enough to reveal thyself. The moment they see thee, they will stop going astray."

Deeply touched by Makhan Shah's appeal, Guru Tegh Bahadur replied: "I know what is happening outside, my dear Makhan Shah. But let me tell you, that now and for ever in future, sincere seekers will always find the true Guru. The true Guru will always reveal himself to him who has passed the acid tests of faith. You were testing the Guru, but actually the Guru was testing your faith. Only when the foul flavour of falsehood failed to attract you, only when false prophets failed to misguide you, you saw the truth. God Himself guided you to the real House of Nanak. For ever in future, the path to truth and light is through the gates of darkness and despair. He who has faith, a pure heart, and pure aspirations, will reach the goal. No amount of noisy publicity and propaganda will lead to the true light of the Guru."

With his eyes bedewed with tears of thankfulness, and his

heart illuminated, but determined to break the news of his discovery of the true Guru to the world outside, he sought Guru Tegh Bahadur's permission to fetch all the gifts he had brought for him and fulfil his pledge. When he came to the courtyard he met Diwan Dargah Mal, Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, Dwarka Das of Goindwal, and Bhai Dayala. He also met Mata Gujari and reverenced her by touching her feet. He saw the unexpressed secret flaming in the eyes of all the disciples, and holiness burning on the brow of all. He was surprised to learn that they had already bestowed the articles of Spiritual Regalia on Guru Tegh Bahadur, but they did not dare to make the fact public for fear of earning the Guru's displeasure. The great truth was a sealed secret and they had been strictly ordered not to utter a word of it to any one. It was a revealed fact and bare truth for a select few, whose discerning eyes made their way to his place; and after seeing the light of Guru Nanak burning in the living soul of Guru Tegh Bahadur, they waited there in the silence of the knowledge that they had found the true Guru. For the rest of the Sikh community it was an unsolved mystery.

With a passion mingled with reverence, Makhan Shah, unable to control his feelings said: "Holy Mothers, and Venerable Apostles who have served the two previous Gurus,[1] even if the sins of all the world fall on my head, and even if the Guru curses me for disobeying this strange command, I am going to declare with the beat of the drum, that Guru Tegh Bahadur is the real successor, the true Guru, and the true embodiment of the eternal spirit of Guru Nanak. I cannot bear to see thousands of people groping in darkness when the lamp of life is so close to them. I cannot tolerate so many impostors exploiting, cheating, and misleading thousands of innocent pilgrims and seekers of the true Guru."

So saying he rushed towards the stairs leading to the top of the house. From there he cried in ecstasy: *"Guru ladho re; Guru ladho re;"*[42] "I have found the Guru, I have found the true Guru; come ones come all; the true Guru is here; I have found the Guru, I have found the Guru. Turn your back on impostors. The true Guru resides here. Come here, seekers all, come here; I have found the true Guru, I have found the true Guru."

He then came down, and asked the surging crowd to wait

for the *darsan* (holy sight) of the true Guru, till he could bring the gifts he had brought for him, and till he succeeded in persuading the true Guru to reveal himself. He would not let him remain in hiding while the impostors go on exploiting sincere Sikhs. He asked two of his men to announce by the beat of the drum that the true Guru was Guru Tegh Bahadur, and none else, none else. He asked his attendants to bring all the gifts respectfully to the Guru's house, while he himself carried a robe of honour, specially prepared for the Guru.[43]

He then approached Guru Tegh Bahadur in his cell, and prostrating himself before him, begged him to forgive his impertinence, and tearfully appealed to him to give audience, and let the people see the true Guru. With a compassionate smile on his face, Guru Tegh Bahadur said: "So you could not resist the temptation of shouting and proclaiming your discovery from house-tops."[44] "Yes Gurudeva," said Makhan Shah, "I just could not resist the temptation. Thou, who forgivest so many sins, even without asking, will certainly forgive me this transgression. I am a crusader for truth, my Master. How can I see hypocricy and deception practised so unashamedly ? Please come out and let the congregation (*Sangat*) have a sight of thee. The congregation (*Sangat*) begs thee to come out and bestow thy grace and blessings on it."

"Ah, who can refuse the *Sangat* (congregation) anything ? I am servant of the *Sangat*, I will come out and greet the *Sangat*." said Guru Tegh Bahadur in utter humility.

In the court-yard a *manji* (a divan serving the purpose of the throne) was placed. On it came and sat Guru Tegh Bahadur amid shouts of "Glory, glory unto the true Guru ; Glory, glory unto the true Guru !" The High Priest Bhai Gurditta placed the articles of Spiritual Regalia before him, and explained how he had brought them from Delhi under the care of the Diwan and other Ministers of Guru Har Krishen, and how and why they had already been bestowed on Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Makhan Shah then explained how after a painful search he had found the true Guru, and how the impostors failed to respond to the test he applied to each one of them. He placed the five hundred dinars before the Guru, and also



The Bakala Shrines (General view)



Manji Sahib, Bakala

offered special robes and gifts to Guru Tegh Bahadur. All the rich and poor who had come, then, made their offerings, and met the Guru one by one. The Guru blessed them all. Bhai Gurditta then begged the Guru to deliver his sermon. In accompaniment to the musical instruments, Guru Tegh Bahadur sang the following Song in *Rag Sorath*:

He who grieves not in grief,
From avarice, pleasures, and fear is free,
And considers gold as good as dust;
Who indulges not in slander or flattery,
And is immune to greed, attachment, and vanity;
Who in happiness, and sorrow, self-poised remains,
And is indifferent to all praise, or blame;
Who discards all hopes, and desires;
Who lives detached from the world,
And is not affected by lust, or wrath;
In such a one shines the Light of God.
The man who receives the Guru's grace,
Discovers this secret of spiritual life;
Sayeth Nanak: The soul of such a man blends
With God, as water mingles with water.

Guru Tegh Bahadur.
Adi Granth: Sorath, p 633.

The divine song of Guru Tegh Bahadur had a magical effect on the listeners. It summed up the Guru's personal philosophy and ideals. The use of the word "Nanak" as his spiritual *nom-de-plume* set the seal on the finality of his succession. Who could compose such a hymn except the real and true Guru? Who could radiate such resplendent peace and wisdom in his sermon except the true Guru? Guru Tegh Bahadur was enthroned as the ninth Nanak, the ninth Guru of the Sikhs.

Guru Tegh Bahadur then asked Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, to distribute all the offerings among the people,[45] and to use the money for the free kitchen and other charitable purposes. He then asked Diwan Dargah Mal to continue as the Diwan of his durbar and serve the cause of Guru Nanak as he had done under Guru Hari Rai and Hari Krishen. He offered him a robe of honour, and asked him to select other Ministers of the Guru's durbar according to his choice, because he was the best judge of everyone's ability.

With folded hands the aged Diwan Dargah Mal stood before the Guru and said humbly: "Gracious Master, while

my mind, body, and soul are dedicated to the cause of Guru Nanak, I feel I am too old to carry the heavy responsibilities of this august post now. My son Dharam Chand is unfortunately too young. I appeal to thee, Gurudeva, to accept my nephews, Mati Das and Sati Das as Diwan and Minister of your durbar.[46] They are learned, experienced, and efficient sons of my brother Hira Nand. I also recommend Bhai Dayal Das, the grandson of Bhai Ballu Rao, who fell a martyr in Guru Hargobind's battle of Amritsar along with my dear grand father Pirag Das, to be appointed the Household Minister (*Gharbari*) of the Guru's Darbar. He is present here with his brothers, Bhai Jetha, and Bhai Mani Ram.

Thus, when Guru Tegh Bahadur was installed as the legitimate and rightful successor of Guru Hari Krishen, the dim and false light of the false gurus began to fade.[47] Some of them packed up and went away with their loot. Some continued to misguide newcomers with the help of their few adherents. But the whole squirming motley crew of Dhir Mal, with their cutthroat eyes ablaze at the sudden turn of events against them, were determined to snatch the Guruship by force. They felt that the peace-loving pacifism of Guru Tegh Bahadur was no match for their armed might and money power. While Guru Tegh Bahadur and his disciples spent the night in blissful rest, and thanksgiving prayers, Dhir Mal and his notorious gang kept awake scheming and planning for a big battle.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1 ab kahāṅ jot pargat dharo dīje darśān bhev
sun bintī satgur bhae dayālā,
kahā srī mukh bacan bisālā ;
ab jāe daras tum karo Bakāle
tahāṅ rahe Bābājī dīn dayālā,
im bacan kahā pun lagī samādh.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

2 "eh khyāl karnā ke Guru Harkrishen ji ne jo vāk kahe han oh aniscit han ; sāf nam kioṅ nā kihā, ṭhīk nahī ; Bakāle vic tadoṅ koī hor Sodhi nahī san rehṅde ; ar koi aisā saṁbaṅdhī Guru Harkrishen jī dā nahī sī rehṅdā, jo riśte vic unā dā Bābā ā ḍhuke ; iko Srī Guru Tegh Bahādur jī unāṅ de Bābe Sri Gurditta ji de bhirāo vasde san ; eh vāk sunke 22 maṅjīaṅ lāke Sodhī othe Kartarpur

Kothai ādi thāvāñ toñ magroñ jā bathe san ; jis vele āp ne vāk kahe san, us vele othe Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur ji unāñ ton Baba kehlān de adhikārī vasde san. hor koī Sodhī aisā nahī si vasdā.

Bhai Vir Singh : *Footnote to Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 10.*Añsū* 42.

[3] This historical place is near Nizam-ud-din Railway station. Guru Gobind Singh's wife Mata Sundari and Holy Mother of the Khalsa, Mata Sahib Devi were also cremated here.

[4] Kavi Santokh Singh even says that Raja Jai Singh became a baptised Sikh though he confuses Mirza Raja Jai Singh with his grandson Raja Jai Singh Sawai. It is doubtful whether he became a baptised Sikh, but Raja Ram Singh's faith in the Guru was deep and profound, as will be seen when he requested Guru Tegh Bahādur later to accompany him in his Assam campaign. Shortly after the death of Guru Hari Krishen both Raja Jai Singh and Ram Singh were assigned the most difficult campaigns which made Hindu loyalists fight a great and far sighted Hindu rebel Shivaji. Raja Jai Singh was made the Viceroy of Central India with complete civil and military powers. It is a credit to the administrative genius of Jai Singh, that a bigoted Emperor like Aurangzeb gave him such authority as had never been given to any Mughal general before.

[5] Karam Singh, historian in his *Gurprub nirnai,* says that the number of impostor gurus given as 22 is much too exaggerated. According to him Dhir Mal and Ram Rai were the only Sodhis contesting the guruship. Karam Singh however does not give any historical proof in support of his contention. His conclusions are based on partisan logic. There is abundant historical evidence in support of the fact that 22 impostors set themselves up as real successors to Guru Hari Krishen. Gyan Singh makes it clear that out of the 22 impostors, 11 belonged to Sodhi families of Lahore, Amritsar and Kiratpur. The other ten were well known *masañds* (bishops) who were probably related to Sodhi families and posed as Sodhis although they were not Sodhis. The descendonts of these Sodhis, who assumed the title at Bakala and maintained it thereafter, because it was highly respected, still live in Punjab and they frankly admit that their ancestors were impostor Sodhis.

aur Sodhīan bhī sun paī,
āe manjīāñ tahāñ lagāīn,
Sodhī sahibzāde tabhī
hutai gyarāñ jag mai sabhhī,
bākī bakhsāñ ke jan āe,
thire manjīāñ bāī alāe.

Gyan Singh : *Paňth Prakāsh* p 110 (Litho copy)

Other historical references in support of the fact that there

were 22 impostors are given in the footnote below. (No. 6)

[6] (1) agoñ Suniā bāī mañjīāñ
gurū ban baithe han bahutere.
Kesar Singh Chiber : *Bansāvalīnāmā.*

(2) sarab Gurū nij ko kehvāī
bāī baiṭh mañjīan lāī
sikh sākhā je ko cal āvai
bāī ṭhavar su bhet caḍhāvai.
Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās* Pat : 10, p 11.

(3) Other historians and records which support this theory are : Sarup Das Bhalla : *Mehmā Prakāsh* Vartak ; Kavi Santosh Singh : *Sūraj Prakāsh* ; Khazan Singh : *Parcīāñ patśāhī dasviñ,* Gulab Singh : *Shahīdī athveñ te nauveñ patśāhī* ; etc. No historical record to my knowledge says that only Dhir Mal and Ram Rai were contesting, Guruship.

[7] Dhir Mal pragat tahāñ rahe
baiṭhā singāhsan pujā lahe.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

[8] Shīñhā nām tisī ko lahe
gur soñ droh karat bahu rahe
lobhī kutīl kaṭhor mahānā
duśt mūḍh subh paṅtha ajānā.
Sūraj Prakāsh Ras 11 *Añsū* 11

[9] Bakht Mal : *Khalsanāmā* p 10

[10] Guru Tegh Bahadur ji tahān basai,
rahe gop alipt ātam saṅg rase,
kāhūn darśan nahī hoe,
rahe ikāṅt tahān pahuñc nā hoe,
Mehmā Prakāsh.
apnī mauj bic hī rahai,
bole kabhū na maun ko gahe
Gulab Singh : *Sahīdī patshāhī nauvīñ.*
nahīñ āpanpo kare lakhāe
ghar antar thir rahe gosāīn.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 10 : *Añsū* 56.

[11] tab Mātā Nanakī ati uklānī,
mukh mist bentī aisī kahī
he sut tum jag gur avtārā
mai tum jānat hoñ nirdhārā,
tum darśan bīn jagat maiṅ
agyān timar rahio chāe.
baiṭh singhāsan dyāl hoe sabh saṅgat daras dikhāe,
Srī Mātā jī jab yeh mukh ākhā
prabh kīa pranām kuch mukhoñ na bhākhā.
Mahemā Prakāsh.
he sut tum jag gur avtārā,
mai jānat nīke nirdhārā,
sam sūraj tum darśan binā

sabh mai saṅsā tam bhā ghanā.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 2.

12 sabh mai mukhya Dwarka Das
līn patrikā hamāre pās,
likhit su Tegh Bahādur mātā
tum upkārī sabh sukhdātā
āp āe kar sakal nihāro,
ridai anucitai ucit bicāro
Bhai Gaḍhia Sikh purātan
Jānat gur ghar kī sabh bātan
teh ko le kar saṅg sidhāe.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 2.

13 sabhnā hai vakīl pathāyā
Tegh Bahādur dā nahī āyā.
Kesar Singh Chibber: *Baṅsavlīnāmā.*

14 Diwan Dargha Mal vic sad bahāyā,
kaho jo vakīl haiṅ sabhnā dā āyā,
asāṅ durbār vadā jān kithe jāīai,
tusīṅ ho vade jithe ākho jāe sis nivāīai
Diwan Darghā Mal kehiā;
vadā durbar hai Tegh Bahadur dā
jo Babā baiṭhā salāmat hāzar,
vic Bakāle jis dā Darbār
sabha cal karīai othe zāhar.
Kesar Singh Chibber: *Bansāvlīnāmā*

15 Dhir Mal jī dukh sarīkī dā lage karan
nāle cācā cācā kar sir carnā te dharn.
ibid.

16 vakīl sabhnā de
nāle Dhir Mal de jāe pahuce,
sabho āpo āpne val sadan
sabho āp nū gurū kar sadan
sabhe sodhī sabhe sāhibzāde.
ibid.
jo manjī vālā jis tāīṅ
deī maśaṅd ko risvat jāe
so masaṅd nij saṅgat lāi ke
bhet dilāvat tahān jhukāike
andhī nū bolā ghaḍīse,
nā oh sunai nā usñu dīsai.
Gyan Singh: *Paṅth Prakāsh*, p 10.
tabai sodhīan yeh bidh kīni,
lobh lehar masaṅdan dīnī
hamre dhig saṅgat sabh lyāvo.
yāke bic na bilam lagāvo
Gulab Singh: *Shahīdī nauvīṅ patshāhī.*

17 Dhir Mal kehiā guriyāi, hai asādī
Hari Krishen jo kehiā, Bābā Bakāle,
asīṅ Babe haṅ ādī, Babe Gurditte dī ulād

Tegh Bahadur pañjvīn jagā asīn Babe hāṅ ādi,
itnī samajh nā man mai āī,
Baba Bakale jo un kehīa,
so jivdā ke moyā beh rehyā.

Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bansāvlīnāmā.*

18 Baba Gurditta tāṅ gyā svarg sidhāre
baiṭhā salāmat Babā Tegh Bahadur āe.

ibid.

19 kisu vast kī ginat nā karīoh
Jap maih likhio so ridai bicārio,
"thapīa nā jāe kitā nā hoe
āpe āp niraṅjan soe.
Tegh Bahādur Gur hai sāco
kaun hatāe sakai teh kāco
kisi te thāpīo jāe nā soe,
āpe ap kare so hoe.

Sūraj Prakāsh, Rās 11, *Aṅsū* 2.

20 Gaḍhīe kīnas bāk bilās
je Gur pragteh tumeh avās
satsaṅgat dhan ketak deho
jananī ko sun man harkhānā
das hazār devan ko mānā.

ibid.

21 Baisākh, 1721 B.S. vic enāh nū gadī ute baithā ke jehḍā gurīāī dā tilak arthat pañj paise, ik nalīer, Gurū Hari Krishen jī ne bhejyā sī oho Babe Budhe de padote ne age rakh ke aṭhveṅ Guru dī tarfoṅ mathā tekakar tilak kar ditā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsa,* p 265.

Kavi Santokh Singh in his *Surāj Prakāsh* says that it is Dwarka Das who performed this ceremony. This is not possible as the ceremony could be performed only by the High Priest Baba Gurditta, the scion of Bhai Buddha's family. The geneology of Bhai Buddha's descendents who had acted as High Priests is as follows :

Bhai Buddha (1563-1688 B.S.)
Bhai Bhana (1593-171 B.S.)
Bhai Sarwan (1617-1708 B.S.)
Bhai Jhanda (1637-1718 B.S.)
Bhai Gurditta (1682-1732 B.S.)

Bhai Guditta was about 39 years old at this time.

22 Khazan Singh : "pot gaurī hai, mere cukan kī nahī".

Parchīāṅ pātshāhī dasvīṅ.

23 tum darśan bin jagat mai agyān timar rehio chāe,
baiṭh singhāsan dyāl hoe sat saṅgat daras dikhāe.

Mehmā Prākash

24 Without giving any concrete historical evidence, Karam Singh historian has argued that Labānās were never traders or *Vanjāras.* They were only agricultural labourers. The

scholars who have done detailed ethnic research on Indian tribes, unanimously state that the Labānās were traders and the Punjab Labānās lived mainly at the village Tanda and neighbouring villages. A number of Western scholars and Sikh historical records quoted in footnotes below clearly state the correct position and prove the arguments and contentions of Karam Singh to be incorrect. From the negative argument, that Makhan Shah was not a trader, Karam Singh draws another conclusion, that Makhan Shah must have been a *masañd* (bishop) who had brought the tithes of his diocese. The *masañds* generally brought tithes to the Guru either on *Baisakhi day* or on *Diwali day*. When a new Guru was installed, they waited for the robe of honour from the Guru and then sent some gifts to the Guru's durbar. Had Makhan Shah been a *masañd* of Gujrat he would have certainly waited till the dispute was settled. Sewa Das in his *Parchīāñ* calls him both a Labānā trader and *masañd* which may be possible.

[25] J. H. Hutton in his *Tribes and Castes of N. W. India* (1896) defines *Banjārā* as "a term applied to traders and cattle herders, more or less nomadic. Also known as *'Vanjārā'* or *'Lambadi'*, (p 276"). Associated like the *Bhils* with Western India and with Rajputana and with central India is the caste known as Banjara, or Lambadi or Labana; a nomad caste of traders and cattle herdsmen with criminal propensities. Their former occupations consisted largely in supplying grain for campaigning armies. They moved about as many of them still do, using their oxen as pack animals for transporting grain and living in camps. Their women are noted for their good looks, domestic freedom and remarkable head-dress. (p 21)

[26] W. Crooke in his book *"Tribes and Castes of N. W. India* (Vol. I p 154) basing his account on many authorities gives the following account of Labānās (Banjārās): "Banjārās acknowledge one God and look on Guru Nanak as the Supreme Teacher. Persian origin of the word is rice carrier, while the Hindi origin is Forest burner." Sir H. M. Elliot divides the Banjārās into five tribes, three prominent among them are: "(1) Turkyīā Banjārā: mostly Muslims, 36 gotras near Muradabad and Bilaspur; (2) Baid Banjārā eleven gotras, mostly physicians and weavers of Pilibhit; (3) *The Labānā Banjārās* have eleven gotras. They state that they are descendents of Gaur Brahmins and came in Aurangzeb's time from Rintambur.

"These men (Labānās) are generally associated with Banjārās. They are the carriers and hawkers in the hills and are merely the Punjab representatives of that class of Banjārās who inhabit the plains." Ibbetson: Punjab Ethnography p 297

"The Labānās are also a peculiar people. Their status amongst the Sikhs is much the same as that of the Mahatmas. They correspond to the Banjārās of Hindustan carrying an extensive trade by means of large herds of laden bullock. Latterly they have taken to agriculture as an additional means of livelihood and not as substitute for trade. They are generally fine and substantially well built people. They also possess much spirit. Their strength and spirit of progress is considerable. This tribe (Labānās) of Banjārās take their name from their business of carrying salt (lavan)."

Captain Mackenzie, quoted by W. Crooke in *Tribes and Castes—N. W. India*, p 154.

[26] Their principle village is Tanda (which means, a large cāravan of loaded bullocks).

ibid.

"Makhan Shah bilāh Jehlum, Tāndā piṅd dā vanjārā Sikh sī das hazār bail te kaī beḍe us de vapār vic calde san.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 265.

ik Makhan Shah Labana āhe,
cit partīt premī rahā
veh kare tajārat bhare jahāz.
tis paḍe bhīḍ gur pūre kāj.

Mehmā Prākāsh.

ayo īk Sikh bahu gunā
Makhan Shah tas ko namā
dachan ke tandā ko nāyak
lach bail jeh calā sahāīk
banaj bapār bic brit lāgā.

Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhi dasvīṅ*, p 11.

[27] *Ain-i-Akbari* furnishes very interesting details about water borne traffic in the Mughal period. We are told that there was a separate Admirality department which had to perform the following duties. (1) to see to the supply of ships and boats for the purpose of navigation and to supervise the building. (2) to see to the supply of men, efficient and experienced mariners for the ships and boats. (3) to watch the rivers and to regulate traffic at ferries. For further details see: *Early Indian seamen by R. P. Chanda; The Commerce of India* by Irving;" *The Land of five rivers* by David Ross; *A history of Indian Shipping and maritime activity.*

[28] Some historians say the amount was one thousand dinars, while the majority of them say the amount vowed was 500 dinars. *Mehmā Prākāsh* says it was only 100 mohars. According to him he offers 5 mohars to each. That means to 22 pretenders he had to offer much more than he vowed. So there is a contradiction. Gyan Singh and Gulab Singh say that he had vowed 1000 dinars while all other historical

records say he had vowed 500 dinars. Both are quite probable.

All records are unanimous in saying that he got into difficulty while engaged in water trade. His ship was about to sink in a storm:

tis bharī nāv ik māl baṅdār kī dai calāe
jae parī jal bhavar mo dag mag dub nā jāe
tab Makhan Shāh Satguru citārā
tis baḍī pratīt iśt gur pyārā.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

29 so darśan sahib ke āyio
āge Dihli yoṅ sun pāyo
tab tāke man mai im āī
calo Bakale madh su dhāī.
Sukh Singh : *Gurbilās patshāhī* 10, p 11.

30 (i) gur seī mukh māṅg jo lījai,
nātar jān kāhuṅ neh dehoṅ;
do do rajat bhet sabh karhoṅ
aur lajāe sabhan ghar dharhoṅ
Gulab Singh : *Shahīdī pātshāhī nauviṅ.*

(ii) ātam darsī gur jo hoe
māṅg lei go mukh te soe.
Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhī* 10, p 11.

All other historical records state the same fact. The only difference is that some say he offered two and others say he offered five gold coins.

31 pritham Dhir Mal jī ke gae,
Mehmā Prakāsh

32 pritham Graṅth Sahib dhig āe,
Dhir Mal ke hute jo pās,
kharo karae tahāṅ ardās,
paṅc asrafī de nij hāth
ride arādheh satgur nāth;
puneh Dhir Mal ke dhig āe
doe asrafī dharī bane,
Baith gayo dono kar jore.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11, *Aṅsu* 5.

33 tab hī siropao bahu mole
dīnas an mevḍe bole.
ibid.
le pujā khuśī sikh ko kīnī
siropao pagḍī tis dīnī.
Mehmā Prakāsh.

34 Sri Hari Krishen bāk hoe sācā
mai praṅtū sikhī mai kacā;
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11, *Aṅsu* 7.

35 yāṅte khān pān taj karkai,
mai baithon satgur simar kai
nij swamī ko darśan pāvoṅ

nahī ta apne prān nasāvon.
ibid.

36 pun bālak bhākhe im bain
Baba Teghā hai ik ain
logan kahā mañjī pat nahī
baiṭhā añdar sañjh sabhāhī
Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhī* 10, p 12.
sāhibzādā hai kou aure
logain kehīā ahai ik gaurai
Tegh Bahādur mast vicārā.
Gyan Singh : *Paňth Prakāsh.*

37 tum ko ucit neh tin peh jāño
jeh subhā parmat mahāno
veheh tumeh kai mil hai nāhī,
laghu koś mai parīo rahāhī,
gurtā rīt nahī kich jānai,
guru hon tau kahā pachāne.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11, *Aňsū* 7.

38 bālak pun logan yuň kahī
cal teh sadan dikhāvoň sahī
tavne ṭhāvar sarab cal gāe.
Sukh Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhī dasvīň*, p 12.

39 cāhit dekhbe saňse hānī,
le kar saňg naran kī bhīr,
calio parasbe Guru gaṁbhīr.
Sūraj Prakāsh, Ras 11, *Aňsū* 7.

40 kioň neh det su kyā man herī
sun gurvāk pratīt su āī,
bhet su pūran deī cadhāī.
Gulab Singh : *Shahīdī prasaňg*
sau mohar ham dījai pyāre,
jo mansā dhar tum kāj savāre
gurbacan sunat Makhan magnāňe.
Mehma Prakāsh
mohar paňc sau paňc jo manat hamārī deh.
jo kich ghanī ju lor hai, hamrī kar fir leh.
Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāshī* 10, p 15.

41 satgur sūraj darśan jovā,
rid arbiňd prafulat hovā,
sādhan sādhit sidh lai jaise,
dhar anaňd ko baiṭhio taise.
Sūraj Prakāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 8.

42 (i) caḍ ūce maňdir ter sunāyā
āvo gursikho mai satgur ladhā
jākī mehmā agam agādhā
Mehmā Prakāsh.

(ii) ūce caḍ sikh karī pukārā
payo hai gur sirjanhārā
bhulī saňgat kahā ghire ho,

ae guru ka darśan le ho
mañjī greh greh bic lagāi
aise guru nā jāno bhāi
gur hai so jo ur kī jāñai
jān apnai ko sabh bhram bhānai
Gulab Singh : *Shahīdī prasañg.*
caḍh ūce nij mahal nīhaānā
adhik bol eh bacan bakhāna
ladhā Guru sañgat ji torī.
Sukh Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhī* 10, p 16.

43 meve anik prakār pavāe,
nij dāśan te līe uṭhāe,
mohar pañc sai gin ke līn,
jo gur ke hit sañcan kīn,
pun uṭhvāe pusāk navīn,
Makhan Shāh mahā prabīn,
subhātan bhīr sañg lai calīo
satgur caran prem mai dhalīo.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11, *Añsū* 8.

44 Makhan dikh mukh Guru ucarīo
pragat karan te neh tu tarīo.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11, *Añsū* 9.

Bakht Mal in his *Tawarīkh-i-Sikhāñ* gives the whole story as follows :

"While he (Guru Harikrishen) lay dying, his disciples asked him whom they should declare as his successor as he left no one of his race. He said : "Take the Baba of Bakala. Bakala is a village near the Bari Doab. His disciples who had been set a riddle by the Guru about the successor began to search him. The village of Bakala included many sons of the race of the Guru. They began to ask each other ; "The Guru appointed the Baba as the successor. There are many Babas here. Whom shall we elect as our Guru. One of them said : "I have vowed 500 mohars to the Guru. Whomever among those descendents of the Guru would demand this sum of me would be the person fitted to adorn the seat of the Guru. All agreeing a day was fixed. All the descendents of the Guru were summoned and presents were offered to them. When the turn of the man who had made the vow came, Guru Tegh Bahadur who was present among those receiving the offerings, caught hold of his hand and demanded to know why after promising a larger amount he was paying less. The disciples thereupon called all of them together and told them he had discovered the man whom they had been looking for. Here was the Baba of Bakala. He paid Guru Tegh Bahadur the promised amount and with the consent of all seated him on the seat of the Guru.

(Prof. S. R. Sharma's translation)

45 He (Guru Tegh Bahadur) was however very independently

inclined. Whatever his disciples brought him, he spent and kept nothing for himself.

Bakht Mal: *Tawarīkh-i-Sikhāṅ.*

46 Diwān Dargha Mal Brahmin Chibber,
so carnī āe lagā, taj man kibber
siropāe Diwanī dā Tegh Bahādur tisnū dite
tisdā sarīr hai si vadā
usne kam vic dono bhatīje khaḍe kīte
Sati Das, Mati Das eh dono Bhaī
Guru de ghar dī kam tehal enā sabh uṭhāī
Dhargha Mal dā betā Dharam Chaṅd rahāī
so aha nikḍā, kam guru ka bhārī uṭhāyā nā jāi,

Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bansavlīnāmā*

47 tab manjī sabh hī chip gaī
tej taran te jioṅ nis gaī,
yoṅ pragte Gur Tegh Bahādur
jan apne kī rakhī cādar.

Gulab Singh: *Shahīdī prasaṅg.*

CHAPTER XII

FORGIVING BLOOD-THIRSTY CONSPIRATORS

THE eternal tragedy of fanatics and despots is that they continue to fear the persons, who are neither afraid of anyone, nor ever think of striking fear in any one, even after they have been disarmed and gagged. The very fact that the adversary says nothing, and refuses to be involved in any battle for power or position, makes his continued existence a source of irritation.

As long as Guru Tegh Bahadur remained hidden from the public eye, Dhir Mal had managed to acquire more importance and following than other impostors. Now he felt that, but for the mischievous trick played by the clever trader Makhan Shah and his henchmen, he would have won over the majority of the Sikhs, and in due course, successfully established his temporal and spiritual authority over the whole Sikh community. He and his men reviled Makhan Shah as a thief, a rascal, and blasphemer.[1] His savage outbursts against Makhan Shah and Guru Tegh Bahadur became more and more scurrilous. Almost all the prominent disciples of Guru Tegh Bahadur were such tolerant persons that Dhir Mal's hatred could not poison their mind, nor could any baseness on the part of Dhir Mal render them base. A distinguished calm breathed in the durbar of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

The companions of Makhan Shah took care to inform all new comers that Guru Tegh Bahadur had finally been declared the ninth Guru of the Sikhs. The discerning adherents of most of the impostors including Dhir Mal turned their back on the pretenders and took refuge in the holy presence of Guru Tegh Bahadur. One impostor after another started leaving Bakala, fearing that the unmasking of their pretensions might lead to a bitter reaction among their adherents, and they might even lose what they had fraudulently collected.

Dhir Mal himself feared that his growing unpopularity at Bakala might reduce even his earlier influence and popularity which he had managed to gain during his stay at Kartarpur during the last twenty years. While the sixth, seventh and eighth Gurus stayed at Kiratpur, he was free to extend his

influence in the Jullundur and Amritsar district. Now that Guru Tegh Bahadur had been declared Guru in the heart of this region, he felt his very survival was at stake. He had been calling himself Guru within this region for the last twenty years. Now he had suffered a terrible defeat in his bid to become the acknowledged ninth Guru of the whole Sikh community. If Guru Tegh Bahadur extended his influence to Kartarpur, the home town of his wife Mata Gujari, he might completely be uprooted and eliminated.

Shihan, the master conspirator, and shameless rogue, started pulling his wires skilfully to prepare Dhir Mal's mind for an all out attack on Guru Tegh Bahadur to wrest guruship from him by force. Where moral and spiritual influence had failed, properly planned violence was bound to succeed, he thought. What could not be attained through right could be easily acquired through might. Unrestrained boldness, and brutal decisions do, as a rule, in temporal matters, appear to bring advantage rather than disadvantage to the doers. This was the way of the world. The sly and smooth tongue of Shihan convinced the timid Dhir Mal that this was the only way open to him.

Dhir Mal was so demoralised by his growing unpopularity that, for a moment, he thought that any cudgel would do to win the guruship. At first, however, he shrank from the idea of stooping to violence against his uncle who was the embodiment of renunciation, tolerance, and compassion. But Shihan pointed out that the tenderness and pacifism of Guru Tegh Bahadur would make his victory easier and almost certain. These were the virtues of Guru Tegh Bahadur which had tempted him to plan an armed attack on him. "Our campaign" remarked Shihan "is a campaign of annihilation. Destroy the rival, and you are left as the sole authority."[2]

There can be no clarity in a mind clouded by hate. Dhir Mal agreed to the simple plan of assassinating his uncle. The conspiracy hatched by Shihan captured his imagination. After the murder of Guru Tegh Bahadur he would be the seniormost Sodhi to claim and acquire the Guruship of the Sikh community. Ram Rai was not in the field. He had already kept out of the contest.

However simple and easy the plot appeared to be, both Dhir Mal and Shihan realised that as long as Makhan Shah

and warriors like Kirpal Chand (brother-in-law of Guru Tegh Bahadur), Bhai Jetha, and Bhai Dayala, were near the Guru, they could not succeed in either killing the Guru, or looting his durbar. So the plot was to be well timed and skilfully contrived and executed.

Makhan Shah and other prominent Sikhs of Guru Tegh Bahadur's durbar noticed a marked change in the attitude of Dhir Mal and his henchmen. They suddenly stopped fulminating from the pulpit. They stopped spouting threats and hatred. A distinct change was noticed in their outward attitude. Many of his men started coming to Guru Tegh Bahadur's durbar and they stayed there as devout visitors for a long time every day. The sudden calm in Dhir Mal's camp, and swift movements of his *masands* between Kartarpur and Bakala gave everybody the impression that Dhir Mal might leave Bakala in peace. No one in the least suspected that it was the lull before a storm.

Within a week, Dhir Mal collected weapons including matchlocks, spears, swords, bows and arrows. Shihan engaged for him a band of ruffians, who pledged themselves to do the evil work. On the fateful day, the conspirators were ready and well equipped for the dastardly deed. Everyone was however surprised to see that Dhir Mal had not made the usual public appearance that morning.

Early in the morning, Dhir Mal sent a number of spies, who were asked to give him hourly report about everything that was happening in the durbar of Guru Tegh Bahadur.[3] At noon the spies reported that Makhan Shah and his men had left the durbar for meals and siesta, and Guru Tegh Bahadur was receiving the last batch of visitors. Most of the senior ministers had also gone, and Guru Tegh Bahadur was left only with a few personal attendants and members of the household.[4]

The conspirators were waiting for this moment. They were now gleefully poised for the assassination of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and the destruction and pillage of his durbar. The qualms of conscience once more shook the mind of the timid Dhir Mal. Prudence or fear made him think of the adverse consequences of his diabolic plot. He cautioned Shihan and asked him not to go to such an extreme as might send him to rack and ruin for ever.[5] Shihan brushed aside these nervous

misgivings of his Master, saying: "The camp of Makhan Shah is far away. Even before he gets the news we will finish our job. There is no one else to help Guru Tegh Bahadur. I take complete responsibility for the success and the consequences of this campaign. If I win, the fruits of victory are yours. If I lose, I will accept the chastisement. You can stay back if you like. You can direct the operation from the rear if you so choose to do."[6]

Things were now beyond Dhir Mal's control. With about a hundred fully armed men, Shihan rushed out of the house commanding all other men of his gang to follow him. Dhir Mal followed them in the rear to watch and direct the operations, if possible. As the conspirators entered the open doors of Guru Tegh Bahadur's durbar, every one was startled by this bolt out of the blue.[7] The raiders pounced upon everyone they met. Some of the trained warriors like Kirpal Chand (brother-in-law of Guru Tegh Bahadur), Bhai Jetha, and Bhai Dayala put up a stout defence, with whatever stick or staff they could get to hold off. When Guru Tegh Bahadur saw Dhir Mal in the rear, he said sadly; "You, Dhir Mal, my nephew doing all this ? God bless your soul ! You, son of my noble brother Baba Gurditta doing this ? God bless your soul!"[8]

The next moment Shihan aimed a bullet at Guru Tegh Bahadur and fired point-blank. The bullet scratched the surface of his shoulder without causing any serious wound.[9] Guru Tegh Bahadur stood calm and composed as if nothing had happened and as if he were unhurt. Diwan Dargha Mal, Bhai Mati Das and Bhai Dayal Das and Kirpal Chand gave complete physical covering to the person of Guru Tegh Bahadur, fiercely hitting any one that came near them. Before Shihan could load another bullet, Kirpal attacked him, and wrenched the matchlock (*tufang*) from Shihan's hand, and hit him so hard that he went staggering on the ground. Fearing that Makhan Shah's men might soon arrive, Dhir Mal ordered his men to run back with the loot and plunder. Everything they saw, and everything they could get hold of, was ransacked and pillaged. The marauders carried away everything they could get hold of.

Kirpal Chand and Bhai Jetha asked all men to get their arms and be prepared to punish the bandits and redeem the

stolen goods. A messenger was immediately sent to Makhan Shah and other prominent disciples who had left for midday meals and siesta. While Guru Tegh Bahadur was urging everyone not to be upset by the material losses, Holy Mother Nanaki saw some blood on her son's shoulder. "Alas, alas" she cried, "you have been wounded by the bullet, my son, and you are sitting here, as if nothing has happened."[10] Everyone was seriously upset and dismayed at the sight of the wound, but said Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly : "God has mercifully protected me from the assassin's bullet. It is only a scratch. I will take care of it. Attend to the injured and wounded disciples first." The sorrow and distress of the warrior Sikhs like Kirpal, Jetha, Mati Das. Sati Das, and Mani Ram changed to stormy indignation, and they made up their mind not to rest till they had punished Dhir Mal and his *masands.*

Guru Tegh Bahadur was taken inside after the slight wound had been bandaged. Diwan Dargha Mal, Baba Gurditta, Bhai Dayala attended to the wounded and injured disciples. "Forgive and forget, my children"—said Guru Tegh Bahadur. They coveted the wealth of the durbar and now that they have looted it, they may rest in peace. With uncontrolled feelings Bhai Jetha said: "Gurudev, they came to annihilate us by assassinating thee. They came to destroy us completely by showing their superior strength and power. We will not let go these assassins and bandits unpunished. If only two or three of us had our weapons with us, we would have trounced and castigated them here and now."

Soon Makhan Shah arrived with his men. Everyone was armed to the teeth. Makhan Shah was shocked at the damage the marauders had done to the durbar, and the injuries suffered by the Sikhs. When he learnt about the bullet wound suffered by Guru Tegh Bahadur from the assassin Shihan's bullet, Makhan Shah's blood boiled with justified wrath. In a sweep, all marched towards Dhir Mal's house.

Dhir Mal's spies had already informed him that he was about to be attacked. There was not sufficient time to pack up, load the horses and escape to Kartarpur. So he bolted the doors from inside and Shihan took the responsibility to defend the house. The next moment Kirpal and Makhan Shah were at the door, loudly asking Dhir Mal to surrender all stolen property immediately, or be prepared for dire conse-

quences. Shihan, the evil genius of Dhir Mal's gang hurled abuses at them, and threatened to exterminate them if they dared to enter their house, which he felt had now become impregnable. The next moment Makhan Shah and Kirpal ordered their men to storm Dhir Mal's house[11], and punish every one who resisted but to avoid killing anyone. After a tough scuffle, everyone of Dhir Mal's *masands* and hired bandits was arrested and dragged to the presence of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Dhir Mal and Shihan were handcuffed and brought to the presence of the Guru. Addressing Dhir Mal, Makhan Shah said, "I have spared your life just because you are Guru Tegh Bahadur's nephew. Otherwise I would not have hesitated to destroy a cowardly killer like you."

Dhir Mal and his *masands* knew that Guru Tegh Bahadur was extremely tender hearted, compassionate, and forgiving. So they were down on their knees begging the Guru to pardon their offences. Deeply moved by their tears of repentance, Guru Tegh Bahadur not only ordered their immediate release, but even resented the treatment accorded to them. When they were gone, he told Makhan Shah and Kirpal Chand that it was not proper for them to stoop to the very type of battle for wealth, power, and superiority, to which Dhir Mal and his *masands* had abandoned themselves, in utter ignorance and madness. Has not Sheikh Farid said :[12]

> Return good for every wrong you suffer,
> In your mind no wrath entertain;
> Free from agony will be your vesture
> All blessings of life you will gain.
> Sheikh Farid : *Śloka,* 78.

Explaining his action Makhan Shah said: "Gurudeva, if we allowed ourselves to be robbed and plundered the way Dhir Mal and his *masands* have done, we might be completely annihilated. When evil mongers go so far, they have to be punished. We had to take our things back. We will never allow ourselves to be plundered and attacked like that. How could we tolerate their dastardly attempt to murder thee, Master ? Imagine our sorrow and plight, if they had succeeded in killing thee."

Then all the things reclaimed and acquired from Dhir Mal's house were brought into the presence of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The Guru easily noticed that there were a number

of things which had not been seen by him in his durbar. "Stop," he said, "to whom do those things belong? Bhai Dayala must have a record of all the offerings. Tell me who brought those offerings ? I doubt if they belong to our durbar."

"These are the things which should have come to our durbar Gurudeva," explained Makhan Shah "but the lies of Dhir Mal and the evil tongue of his *masands* misguided innocent disciples, and they offered them to Dhir Mal. We brought them because they belong to the true successor of Guru Hari Krishen." Refusing to accept Makhan Shah's arguments, Guru Tegh Bahadur firmly said : "No Makhan Shah, I am not going to accept any such logic, or reasoning inspired by greed and lust for wealth. Why should a Sikh of your position and eminence try to rationalise a theft ? This is stolen property. You should not even have brought by force what Dhir Mal took by force from here. All these things should be immediately returned to Dhir Mal. This is not my wealth. I do not rely on such wealth."[13] When Holy Mother Nanaki pleaded that what belonged to his durbar should be retained, Guru Tegh Bahadur burst into the following song :

O Mother, I have acquired the wealth of His Name,[14]
My mind no more suffers in passion's flame;
It has found peace and self-restraint;
All desires of the senses have ebbed away,
The light of pure Wisdom is my mainstay.
From lust and greed, the mind is detached,
To the love of God it is deeply attached.
When the precious pearl of divine Name, I availed,
All darkness and delusion of the past is unveiled;
The flames of desire are in the mind no more,
Peace and happiness reside in my soul.
He who is blessed by the merciful Lord,
Sings the songs of glory of God.
Sayeth Nanak, this is the precious wealth I cherish,
Only few enlightened seers aspire after it.

Guru Tegh Bahadur : *Rag Basañt*, p 1168.

Everyone was silent. One by one all the things belonging to Dhir Mal were returned, The essential property of the durbar and the special offerings of the *Sangat* were retained. Determined to prevent any such occurrence in future Makhan Shah firmly told Dhir Mal that he must leave Bakala as soon

as possible, in his own interest. Dhir Mal then reprimanded Shihan for misguiding him and pushing him into the pit of utter humiliation and destruction. The next day he left for Kartarpur.[15]

But the next morning even Guru Tegh Bahadur was not to be found at home. Every one was stunned by his sudden and mysterious disappearance. Some of the prominent Sikhs felt that they had made a great mistake by attacking Dhir Mal, without the permission and knowledge of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Mata Gujari, the Guru's wife, knew that he had gone into elected silence once more, and it might take time to persuade him to forgive all transgressors who had hurt him. A day earlier Guru Tegh Bahadur had promised Baba Dwarka Das and Bhai Garhia that he would pay a visit to his ancestral place, Goindwal, and his birth place, Amritsar, the overall management of which had gone into the hands of Harji *Mina,* the descendant of Prithi Mal. Bhai Garhia was of the opinion that Guru Tegh Bahadur's presence there would restore it to the Sikh *Sangats.* But now Guru Tegh Bahadur was not to be found. Parties were sent to the forests, where he generally went for hunting. Prominent Sikhs of the neighbouring villages were asked if they had met or seen the Guru anywhere. Everyone knew about the sudden disappearance of the Guru, and everyone was searching for him.

Four days passed without any knowledge about the whereabouts of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Mata Gujari refused to take even a morsel of food, till her Lord, who she felt was sitting somewhere in meditation, without any food or drink, came back home. On the fifth morning, as a farmer was driving his cattle into a thick grassy grove, his cattle stopped short and would not enter it. Something startled the cattle and they ran away. Curious to know what it was he went inside and found Guru Tegh Bahadur sitting in *samadhi.* Mad with joy at the discovery, he ran out to the village Bakala, and gave the news to all, that he had found the Guru in the grassy grove.[16]

For five days Guru Tegh Bahadur had been sitting there in silent meditation, without having taken any food or water.[17] Holy Mother Nanaki, Mata Gujari, Bhai Gurditta, and Diwan Dargha Mal took some food, water, and fruit and hurried to

the place. They were followed by Makhan Shah and other disciples. Bhai Gurditta was the first to approach Guru Tegh Bahadur barefoot, and after prostrating himself in humble salutation he said : "My holy ancestor, Baba Buddha dared to intrude upon the elected silence of Guru Angad, and Guru Amar Das. With the permission of the *Sangat,* which has spent five days in utter bewilderment, and agony of separation from thy divine presence, I take the liberty to intrude upon thy chosen solitude. Forgive my transgression. Forgive us all if we have disobeyed thee, or annoyed thee. Inscrutable are thy ways, O Lord. Teach us to live in thy Spirit, give us light to be guided by thy wisdom. Come home, Master, thy disciples are in deep agony. They are like fish out of water without thy presence and benediction."

The whole atmosphere was lit with the joy of the rediscovery of Guru Tegh Bahadur. All opposition or even possibilities of opposition had vanished. His presence was a continuous inspiration. Now the stream of his inspiration surged in all directions like a calm shoreless expanding sea.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Makhan sikh badesī hoe,
is mehmā ko lakhe nā soe ;
nij mat te kar Guru banāvā
kim teh hon deh ham dāvā.
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 11.

[2] jeh bal te kāraj sar jāe,
tahā kare neh der lagāi,
bal aur budh dono tum māhī,
des kāl lakh hoe utśāhī.
ibid.
nit kī kalhā deh mitāe,
bahur nā baiṭhe āo pujāe ;
ik mar gae sarb bhaī pāvaiṅ,
pun saṅgat tumre dhig āvaiṅ.
ibid.

[3] rākho tahāṅ jasūs lagāe,
jab Makhan teh te uṭh jāe,
tat chin jah tahāṅ bhat sāre
leh acānak dhan vath bhāre.
ibid.
dust masaṅd hakār kar dūr brit citvio pāp
gur dhig lāe jasūs ko sthit tyār hoe āp.
ibid Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 12

4 sane sane pun saṅgat sārī
le le khuśī sarūp nihārī,
jāt bhae nij deran māh,
satgur stūt badan te prāh.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 13.

5 maran maṅtar kehat jo ehī,
mujh ko nīko lageh na kehī,
pitā bhrāt hamro so āhai,
Tegh Bahādur akhyāe kahai,
dosh nahī kich tis ne kīnā
mast subhā bihār bahīnā
bho masaṅd tis hatne kerā
neh utśāh hot hai merā.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 11.

6 sun masaṅd Shīhāṅ ris karke,
Dhir Mal sioṅ kehat ucārke,
Guru banāvan jo is kāl
haṭh masaṅdan ke su bisāl.
jisko gadi deh baṭhāe,
sikhan te tis leh pujāe.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 12.
tum nisciṅt baiṭh rauh dere,
sakal bhār eh hai sir mere,
kāraj sudhre tau hoe terā,
bigrai ham marhaiṅ tis berā.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 13.

7 satgur ke ghar pahuṅce jāe,
ekai bār pare ari rāe
ketik hute ju mānas pās
'kyā hai, kyā hai,' kareh avās,
mār mār kar ān pare haiṅ.
aucak paur majhār bare haiṅ.
hatho hathī geh līnas keī,
raur macio dono dis teī.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 13.

8 bhale Dhir Mal bhale jī, bhale Dhī Mal dhīr,
bahut bār bole badan, srī prabhū gunī gahīr.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 12.

9 The author of *Sūraj Prakāsh* says that the bullet caused injury to the head. Gyan Singh in his *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā* says that the bullet did not cause any injury to the Guru but killed a disciple of Guru Tegh Bahadur who was standing behind him. Other historical records say the bullet caused some injury to the shoulder, around which story there later developed a legend that this injury was caused by Guru Tegh Bahadur's attempt to save Makhan Shah's ship from sinking. This legend was probably invented by those who wished to divert the blame of causing injury from Dhir Mal and his *masaṅds* to some supernatural cause. It appears that

the bullet caused slight injury to the shoulder. After a week Guruji left for Amritsar. A day after the attack Guru Tegh Bahadur went into hiding. All these incidents show that either the Guru did not suffer any injury or it was very slight.

10 jekar moh putar ke bhāl,
gulkā lāgat marat tatkāl,
tab ko hovat hāl tumāro
kīo kukaram mahā hatyāro.
itādik keh bāran bārī,
Māt Nānakī dukhit pukārī

Sūraj Prākāsh, Rās 11, *Aňsū* 13.

Srī gur kehio, Māt dhīr dhīr,
dekh anucit nahī kar pīr,
jabrī karat garab dhar joe,
tin par har prabh krudhit hoe.

ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 14.

11 sagal ko cit gurū yoň phirāi,
kari ardās tin laro Mal Dhīr soň
karī vadhīk in suno bhāī ;
saňt anaňd vaī pūran purakh haiň
karioň in jor nij hik dikhāi
ais bicār kai caḍhī sabh saňgatan
līo teh loot te fateh pāī.

Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās patshāhī* 10 p 17

ik ik ko das das nar dhāe,
geh geh sabh ke śastar chināe
hāth jor sabh nai hoe dīn,
im kātur kar kar taj dīn
antar jāe pravese sāre,
badan praspar karat nihāre.
tajī sūrtā dare bisālā
neh kich hoe sakio teh kālā.
sabh ke saśtar chin kar līn ;
ek thān baňdhāvān kīn
pune vast sagrī su sambhārī
satgur ke ghar kī jo nihārī
bahuro darab sarab kadhvāyo
tinhū ke nar sir ucvāīo
pun tin dere kī vath sārī
baňdh bhar kar sakal saṁbhārī.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aňsu* 16

12 According to *Sūraj Prākāsh,* the Sikh Saňgats attacked Dhir Mal before he left for Kartarpur. According to Gyan Singh he had already left for Kartarpur and was over taken by a hot chase : "āp Dhir Mal ne Guru Sahīb par bandūk sar kītī, jo pās baiṭhe ik Sikh nū mār gaī, bākī de paňj sat ādmī jo Guru jī pās se oh bhī naṭh gae ; te sabh samān pujā adik Guru ghar dā lut ke Dhīr Mai Kartarpur nū lai gayā ;

eh beadbī sun ke Sikhāṅ toṅ sahī nā gaī ; jadpi Gurūjī rok bhī rahe, praṅtū sabh saṅgat nū nāl lai ke, Makhan Shah ne Dhīr Mal ute hamlā kar ditā, te raste vic hī jā gherīa. dohāṅ tarfāṅ toṅ chokhī tīr golī cal paī, sat aṭh māre gae, kaī zakhmī hoe ; ākhar Dhir Mal naṭh turyā, te sabh sāmān graṅth sāhib samet Sikh lut lyāe. Guru Sāhib bahut naram dil se ; onā ne eh khyāl karke : bure dā bhalā kar gusā man na handāe ; usdā graṅth usdā rozgār samajh ke os nū bhejiā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarīkh Gurū Khālsā,* p 265-266.

bolke ke sangtī Sikh Sardar kau
kripā ke siṅdhu tab yon ucāri
karī tum jald yeh kavan ke hukam so ;
nahī muh kahī lutoh sudhārī.
Sikh pun sāhībzāde jau mārat ko caḍat
kalaṅk eh sīs bharī.

Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās pātshāhī* 10.

13 kaha pun bhae jo lai gaeo caḍat,
veh neh kich ciṅt ham ko surāi ;
darb ke kāj kachu Guru Mahārāj nāī
nahī eh baiṭh dukān pāi.

ibid p 17

Guru Tegh Bahadur said : Forgiveness is the greatest charity. It is the greatest *tapasyā* (austerity) and the path of union with God. So forgive Dhir Mal and forgive everyone else :

karni chimā mahā tap jān,
chimā kāran hī daibo dān
chimā sakal tīrath iśnān,
chimā karat nar kī kalāyān.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 18.

fero vastū jitak tin kerī,
nij dhān ko bhī dīje ferī.

ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 19.

14 Bhai Vir Singh thinks that this *Śabad* (hymn) was sung at this moment. Quoted in footnote to *Sūraj Prākāsh* : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 17.

15 gram Bakāle ke bikhe hoī jabeh parbhāt
Dhir Mal ko sivar pikh paryo chūch, ga gāt
sabhin pokhio uṭh so geo
neh reh sakīo khot jin kīo
nij prānam mai sanse jānā
jis ne krūr karam it ṭhānā.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 21.

16 ketak divas jabai bīt gae,
tab satgur yeh karat subhāe
greh te nikse bapu ju chupāī,
khoī bic luke prabha jāī
paṅc divas khoi mai rahe
gun prabh ke kich jāt na kahe

ayo pasū ik khetvār ko
khoī karne ahār ko.
Gulab Singh : *Shahīdī Pātshāhī Nauvīṅ.*

17 uṭh kar khetvār tab āyo
āe Gurū bapu darśan pāyo
khetvār tab ūc pukārā
kīo khoī mai lukai murārā
paṅc divas prasād na pānī
tum bin bīte kalpa samānī
sog bheo hamre ur bhārī
kyā jānā keh gae murārī.
ibid.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRIESTS AND THE WOMEN OF AMRITSAR

ON November 22, 1664 A.D. Guru Tegh Bahadur left for his birth place, Amritsar,[1] in response to the invitation of Dwarka Das and Bhai Garhia. Guru Tegh Bahadur rode a horse, Holy Mother Nanaki and Mata Gujari were seated in a chariot (*rath*). Makhan Shah's convoy carried provisions. Prominent disciples remained close to Guru Tegh Bahadur on horseback. Most of the people followed them on foot. The news about the Guru's visit to Amritsar had already spread in the whole of *Majha*. People from neighbouring villages waited on the highway for a glimpse and benedictions of the Guru.

Guru Tegh Bahadur had a deep affection for the simple village folks. Their simplicity, unsophisticated manners, pure devotion, and innocent approach to religion, impressed him very much. Wherever he saw a group of villagers he got down from the horse, and moved freely among them, talking in parables and maxims to all who approached him for grace and blessings. They found solace, peace, and exaltation in his words. Many of them followed him to Amritsar, as it was not far away.

It was just past noon when they reached the holy city. They went straight to the Harimandir (Golden temple) to pay homage to the sacred place. But as soon as they reached the precincts of the historic temple, they found the doors of the entrance closed to them. The *Kirtan* (chanting of the sacred hymns) which was supposed to go on all day, suddenly stopped. The priests who were expected to be on duty hid themselves within the temple. Guru Tegh Bahadur was shocked to find the doors of the temple closed. This was the temple built by his grandfather, the daily services of which were set and regularised by his father. This was the city where he was born, and this was the temple where he was initiated, and where he learnt the most precious lessons of his life from his beloved father, and his great teachers, Bhai Buddha, and Bhai Gurdas, the first and second High Priests of the Harimandir (Golden temple). Now the priests had

closed the doors of the temple even to him. To prevent his entry they had even stopped the regular services and prayers.[2]

The absence of the sixth, seventh, and eighth Gurus from this region of the Punjab had given an opportunity to the selfish and greedy *masands* of Amritsar to shift their loyalty to Prithi Mal's descendants. They acknowledged Guru Arjun as the fifth Guru after his martyrdom, but they dubbed Prithi Mal as the sixth Guru, and Meharban his son became the seventh Guru. After the death of Meharban on January 18, 1640 A.D., his son Harji *Mina* was installed as the eighth Guru.[3]

The *Minas* had installed their own copy of Granth, in which not only had they corrupted the compositions of earlier Gurus but also included their own. The daily prayers were recited as in the earlier period. The changes made were so subtle that the common visitor could not easily discern the difference.[4] So, while the priests believed that their eighth Guru, Harji *Mina,* was living in Amritsar, ever since he had been installed guru by his father, Meharban, just before his death, they were surprised to learn that the ninth Guru of the Sikhs had arrived in the person of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

The whole of Amritsar was now under the control of Harji *Mina.* He had even occupied the house in which Guru Hargobind lived, and in which Guru Tegh Bahadur was born. Harji Mina avoided meeting Guru Tegh Bahadur, and it was most probably under his instructions, the priests who were appointed by him, and paid by him, closed the doors of the temple to Guru Tegh Bahadur's entry. These people knew that Dhir Mal had been ousted from Bakala in his bid to become the successor of Guru Hari Krishen. Harji *Mina* himself had tried to be one of the claimants to succession, but had quietly withdrawn when the people acknowledged Guru Tegh Bahadur as the true successor. Now the *Minas* feared that once Guru Tegh Bahadur and his disciples entered the Golden temple they would never leave it. They might drive out the priests of the *Mina* gurus just as they had driven out Dhir Mal from Bakala.

Guru Tegh Bahadur waited for a few hours under a tree close to the *Akal Takhat,* only a hundred yards away from the main entrance to the Golden temple. The place is now called *Tham Sahib*: the Pillar of Patience.[6]

Extremely annoyed at the behaviour of the *masands,* Makhan Shah said to the Guru: "Master, here is a temple built by your grandfather, as a universal shrine open to all. These wicked priests do not even allow the grandson of the founder Guru to enter the temple. How dare they do that? I will not let them treat us like this. Permit me, Master, to compel them to open the doors. They must be taught a lesson otherwise they will continue to corrupt and corrode into the body and soul of the Sikh Church."[7]

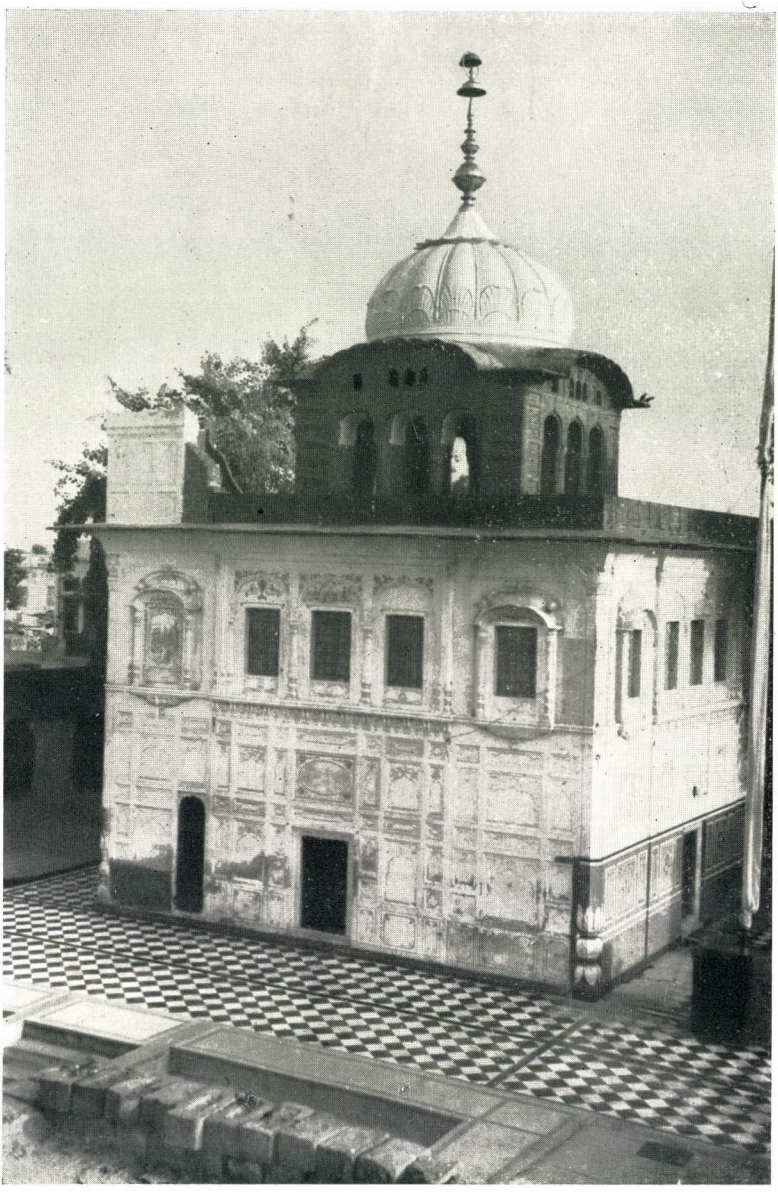
"No, Makhan Shah," said Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly, "we will never use force. Wherever the light of Guru Nanak shines, that place becomes a sanctified temple of God. These ignorant priests think that they are the virtual owners of the Harimandir. By closing the doors and stopping the *Kirtan,* they have sinned against the highest ideals of Sikh faith. They have not insulted me, but they have insulted Guru Nanak; they have insulted the *Sangat;* they have insulted the very founder of this great temple. Now they consider themselves to be the sole privileged dwellers of Amritsar: "the Lake of Immortality". Actually they live and burn in the flames of greed and lust for wealth. In these flames they will be scorched and extinguished.[8] These *masands* were appointed as missionaries of Sikh faith. They have become the priests of evil spirits. They have become the agents of the false prophets. Their days are numbered. Their misdeeds will bring their fall.[9] I would rather live in a poor man's hut than compromise with these selfish and greedy people, utterly devoid of humanity, culture, and the spirit of Sikhism. A day will come when they will reap what they are sowing now. No Sikh will allow them to enter the doors of his house."[10]

Just then, a peasant woman, named Hariyan[11] of a nearby village Walla, stepped forward and begged the Guru to spend the night in her humble dwelling. She offered to place all she had at the disposal of the Guru and the congregation. Guru Tegh Bahadur was delighted with the sincerity of Mata Hariyan's offer. He at once agreed to spend the night at Walla,[12] as her guest. A few hours before sunset Guru Tegh Bahadur left for Walla.

Makhan Shah knew that as soon as the Guru left, the wily priests would open the temple doors, and come out of their hide outs. So he stayed back to meet them and bring home



Gurdwara *Tham Sahib,* Amritsar
(opposite Golden Temple)



Gurdwara Walla Sahib

to them the seriousness of their shameful misconduct. Word went round the whole city that Guru Tegh Bahadur had dubbed the Amritsar people as dwellers in scorching flames of greed and lust for wealth, in which they would continue to burn till they were consumed. Harji *Mina* had been exercising religious authority in Amritsar for the last many years and the *masands* were completely under his control. The menfolk of the city stood speechless when Guru Tegh Bahadur was not permitted to enter the temple. They feared that they might lose the favours of Harji *Mina* and the priests may refuse to perform formal prayers for them. So out of sheer cowardice, they did not protest against the high handed treatment of the priests.

Thanks to the social philosophy of Guru Nanak, which from its very inception had given complete freedom of thought and action to women in every sphere of social and religious life. Even in the dark period of Indian history, when the veil, and their inferior position in other sections of society, prevented women from expressing their views and fighting for righteous causes, Sikh women never hesitated from taking up cudgels against the follies of men, and correcting their blunders. At home, and in society, in the city, or the temples, they freely and frankly asserted their views, and did not rest till their battle for noble causes was won.

Many women knew Guru Tegh Bahadur from the days of his early stay at Amritsar. They had deep reverence and love for him and his elder brother Baba Atal. The memory of their glorious and impressive childhood was still fresh in the minds of many devout women of Amritsar. They were shocked to learn that Guru Tegh Bahadur had been treated in this shameful way by the wicked priests in the city that was proud of being his birthplace. They went *en masse* to the Hari Mandir (Golden temple) and forced the priests to open the doors. Unfortunately the Guru had left for the village Walla by then.

Makhan Shah now found an opportunity to enter the temple and pay his homage to the sacred shrine. He then denounced and admonished the priests in the presence of the women who had come there to question them. When the priests came to know that the man addressing them was Makhan Shah who had severely punished Dhir Mal, they

became cautious not to annoy or contradict him.[13] Trembling in fear of being driven out they started making all sorts of excuses. The first excuse they cooked up was that as Guru Tegh Bahadur's father, Guru Hargobind, had fought against the Mughals they feared that if they allowed Guru Tegh Bahadur who was equally revolutionary, and had fought in the battle of Kartarpur, the rulers might get annoyed and they might attack them again ; for this they were not prepared. The second excuse was that there was still some confusion about the true successor of Guru Hari Krishen. Up to the time, the whole community acknowledged one true successor it was impolitic for them to accept Guru Tegh Bahadur as the legitimate successor. Very few *masands* had so far acknowledged Guru Tegh Bahadur as the ninth Guru of the Sikhs. So they had no other alternative except to close the doors of the temple and prevent the battle of succession being fought in Amritsar."[14]

Makhan Shah reproached them for their wicked behaviour, and took them to task for finding lame excuses. He then explained how he had tested all the impostors, and how Guru Tegh Bahadur had been acknowledged as the rightful successor to Guru Hari Krishen, and how the articles of Spiritual Regalia had been bestowed on him by the official High Priest Bhai Gurditta. He further told them that if they did not mend their ways they would have to repent bitterly all their lives. "I would have taught you a lesson here and now", he added, "but my hands are tied by the ever compassionate and forgiving Guru Tegh Bahadur. He has ordered me to be tolerant towards even notorious people like you."[15]

The women of Amritsar were gravely upset at the foolish behaviour of the priests. They trounced the priests and derided them for their outrageous insult of such a great personality as Guru Tegh Bahadur. Determined to atone for the folly of the priests, and the cowardice of the menfolk of Amritsar, they collected food and gifts for the whole congregation of the Guru and went singing songs seeking forgiveness and blessings, to the village Walla. With tears in their eyes they begged the Guru to forgive the transgressions of the people of Amritsar for timidly permitting the priests to insult the Guru and the *Sangat*. Highly pleased at the moral courage and sincere devotion of the women of Amritsar,

Guru Tegh Bahadur said: "Ever blessed by God be the women of Amritsar."[16]

The next day Guru Tegh Bahadur thanked Mata Hariyani for her hospitality and came to Amritsar, where the priests tendered a formal apology. After paying homage to the sacred shrine Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Goindwal, his ancestral home, to fulfil his promise to Baba Dwarka Das. On the way he stopped at Khadur to meet the grandson of Datu. At Amritsar Guru Tegh Bahadur's sister Bibi Viro had joined him, along with her five brave sons: Sango Shah, Gulab Chand, Jit Mal, Ganga Ram, Mahri Chand, and her husband Sadhu Ram. As the Guru did not have time to go to their village Malla, they agreed, on the request of Holy Mother Nanaki, to accompany the Guru first to Bakala and thence to Kiratpur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur and his entourage trekked their way to Bakala, stopping for an hour or so in villages where large crowds waited to see the Guru on his return journey. There was great rejoicing at Bakala when the Guru returned. Pressing invitations had now come from Mata Sulakhni, mother of Guru Hari Krishen, and Baba Dip Chand, son of Suraj Mal. Kiratpur had been the Vatican city of the Sikh faith for over thirty eight years. It was now essential that Guru Tegh Bahadur should visit the place and take over all the personnel and things belonging to the Guru's durbar such as the army, horses, and articles of historical interest belonging to the earlier Gurus, which only the true successor was entitled to keep. The Guru's Diwan announced that on the third day Guru Tegh Bahadur and the officials of his durbar would be leaving for Kiratpur.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[16] Guru Hargobind jī de bād nāveṅ pātsāh Guru Tegh Bahādur jī maghar sudī pūranmāśī saṁbat 1721 B.S. (22 November, 1664 A.D.) nū parivār samet Srī Amritsar de darśanā nū āe. agoṅ Sodhī Harjī de kariṅdiāṅ ne Durbar Sahib de darvāje baṅd kar lae.

Shahīd bilās : Sewa Singh Ed : Garja Singh, p 29. Magh sambat 1721 B.S. nū Sri Amritsar jī de didār nū āe ; Jehde masaṅd Darbār Harimaṅdir vic pujārī san onāh ne

eh khyāl karke jo othe mālik nā ban baiṭhan, darśanī darvaje nū jandā lā ditā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarīkh Guru Khālsā* p 266

[2] Sri Harimandīr cāroṅ dvār
kare asaṅjat sabhan kivār,
huto darśani paur baderā
de kapāt taro pun bherā,
Srī Gur Tegh Bahādur Swamī
lakh masaṅd bidh aṅtarjāmī;
bhin bhin hoe chape sthān
neh āe karbe sanmān
Sri Gur maṅdir ke darvāje
bher gae neh bājat bāje,
Śabad Kīrtan sunīat nāhī
kīnas kahāṅ maha lab māhī.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 21.

[3] Sodhī Meharbān māgh sūdī pancmī sambat 1696 nū apne putar Harjī nū gaddī de ke parlok gaman kar gae, te inhāṅ dā takrīban sārā samā Srī Amritsar vic batīt hoyā. Harjī dī mritu 20 Vaisākh vadi 11 sambat 1753 B.S. (17 April 1696 A.D.) nū hoi.

Shahīd bilās ed : Garja Singh.

[4] *Prithi Chand Gurvansavli* and the writings of Harji Mina and Meharban clearly indicate that they had a complete control over the Hari Mandir and the people of Amritsar. Even the author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* first came into contact with Meharban before he met Guru Hargobind and Guru Hari Rai. *Dabistan's* account of the early life of Guru Nānak is entirely based on the Meharban's version which makes Guru Nānak an avatar of Janak, a theory which was condemned by Guru Arjan and Bhai Gurdas.

[5] Hargobind gur ke eh naṅdan,
dāvā rākhat ūpar masaṅdan;
in so milan nā ab ban āe,
nahī kaṭhor kahe bac jāe.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 21.

[6] Jehḍā hun Guru Tegh Bahadur jī dā thaḍā maśahūr hai ethe berī de brich heṭh do pehar tak baiṭh rahe, ākhar amritsarīe aṅdar saḍīe srāp de kar rāt Walle piṅd 3 kos par jā rahe.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 266.

The seat of the Master and the disciples, as we said had shifted to Kiratpur, and Amritsar was already in the hands of impostors, and priests who were interested only in the money to be got by priestcraft at Hari Mandir. When the Guru had gone towards the hills, the disciples also departed thither and only the priests remained behind. Since the time of Guru Arjan there had sprung a kind of civic administration which collected the offerings of the people at large for

the upkeep of the Sikh cities, temples and tanks. Often the administration got into the hands of the people other than the disciples, though everyone was eager to call himself a Sikh in those halcyon days.

For some time the administration worked well but later the surrounding enemies of the House of the Masters came in and enlisted as *masañds* and collectors of offerings and made the whole administration inimical to the disciples. They afflicted the two disciples in many ways and the disciples endured without a sigh or murmur all that came from Masands in the name of their Beloved.

The signs of tyranny became visible when Tegh Bahadur paid a visit to Hari Mandir. The priests shut the temple doors against the Master and he said: "The priests of Amritsar are men of blind heart that burn in their own lust of greed".

Puran Singh : *Ten Masters,* p 88.

[7] sun Makhan bolio Gur saňg,
farmāvan mujh karo nisaňg,
in ke karoň Dhir Mal jaise,
daňd ucit durjan hoe aise,
tumro vastu darb samudāe,
kareň curāvan mad upjāe.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 21.

[8] im bicār jag gur sabh swamī
bacan bakhānyo aňtaryāmī,
neh masaňd tum amritsarīye,
trishnāgan te aňtar sarīye ;
jas khote mag kīn ālaṁbh
tas phal prāpat kaśt kadaṁb.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 22.

[9] inoh sajāe den ko bhārī
upjehgo ik purakh agārī
kareh tadnā prānan hāne
jaron ukhāreh koik māneh.

ibid.

[10] karyo kirt ko tab phal pāvai
gursikh apne mukh neh lāvai.

ibid.

[11] The seventh generation of this pious lady *Hariyān* still lives at Walla.

[12] The village is about four miles from Amritsar. There are two shrines commemorating the visit of Guru Tegh Bahadur one on the outskirts of the village and one inside the village. The descendants of Hariyan and other old people informed me that there was a stone inscription with some historical record on it. When the engineers of the S.G.P.C. started building a temple on the site of the inscription, they built the plinth of the floor so high that the stone inscription lies

buried in the centre of the hall. All attempts to get the stone inscription unearthed have failed. It could give a correct clue about the date of Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit.

[13] sun masaňd bole dhar trās,
bho Makhan sun keh tuj pās.
eh partāp guran ko sāra
sabhan par tis ko upkārā
Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 23.

[14] sun kar je malech samudāe,
āe bigār karen is thāe,
... ...
eh ab lau bhe Guru na nīke
sakal masaňdan kīo na ṭhīke.
ar saňse me sāri saňgat
niśce kīo nā sikhyan paňgat
nahī upāen kit kī āī,
kīrat kite nahī bithārī
jab ik ān hoe sabh jān
ham bhī dās leh man mān.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 22.

[15] ab bhī jāh jācnā karo
ride duśtatā sagrī haro
gaī bīt par tau sambhāro
kar joro ar binai ucāro
... ...
im sun mile masaňd bicāre
Makhan ko nā bak triskāreh
mat eh bigar pare ham saňg
Dhir Mal sam kare na dhaňg.
ibid.

[16] jad eh khabar Amritsar vic ghar hoi, ta sabh māīāň ne apnī apnī kadar de anusār nazar bhetā laike gurū de caran jā phade ; onā dī bhāvnā dekh ke Gurūjī ne bacan kitā Amritsar diaň māiaň bībīaň nū gurū parmeśwar dī bhagtī shradhā sevā nām dān hameshā prāpat rahe gā.

The control of the Golden Temple (Harimandir) was left to Harji Mīnā. After Harji's death in 1696 A.D. the Minās were divided into three groups under Har Gopal, Kanwal Nain and Niranjan Rai respectively. The administration of the Minās shocked the people Guru Gobind Singh sent Bhai Mani Singh in 1699 A.D. to take over the control of Harimandir. He was accompanied by Bhupat Singh, Gulzar Singh, Koer Singh, Dan Singh and Kirat Singh. The Adi Granth was installed by him on Guru Arjan's martyrdom day.

CHAPTER XIV

MAKHOWAL: NANAKI CHAK (ANANDPUR)

WHILE preparations to leave for Kiratpur were afoot, Guru Tegh Bahadur's newly appointed ministers, Diwan Mati Das, Sati Das, and Dayal Das, suggested that robes of honour should be sent to all *masands*[1] (bishops) of distant districts, before Dhir Mal contacted them, and through them, all the Sikhs of those regions. Guru Tegh Bahadur agreed to this proposal, and immediately wrote *Hukamnamas* (personal letters) to all the *masands* to come to Kiratpur with tithes, and novices of their dioceses, desiring to receive ordination and admission to the Sikh Faith, on the annual function of the forthcoming Baisakhi (New Year day), which fell on March 30,[2] 1665 A.D. These *Hukamnamas and siropaos* (robes of honour) were sent to all the major centres in the Punjab and to distant places like Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Patna, Dacca, Peshawar, Kabul, Srinagar. Dhir Mal also did not lose time in sending *siropaos* and gifts to the *masands* of all these important places.[3]

The *masands* of many places had already come to know that Guru Hargobind's youngest son, Guru Tegh Bahadur had been acknowledged and installed as the rightful successor to Guru Hari Krishen. So they refused to accept the *siropao* of Dhir Mal, but accepted the robe of honour sent by Guru Tegh Bahadur's durbar, and sent in return the tithes collected so far, and many other gifts and presents like cloth, horses, carpets, costly vessels, and other articles. There were some *masands* who were attracted by the material rewards offered by Dhir Mal. They did not accept the *siropaos* of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Holy Mother Nanaki suggested that some action should be taken against these *masands*.[4] She complained that they had collected money from thousands of people, and they neither spent it for the benefit of the poor and the needy in their own area, nor did they send the tithes to the Guru for the national funds. "What do we lose Mother dear, thereby? Only money and the patronage of selfish and greedy *masands*.[5] Are they worth having if they can be won over, the way Dhir Mal is winning them over ? said the

Guru "God has given us innumerable devout disciples, and their moral and spiritual labour will help us more in national reconstruction than the ill-gotten money of these *masands*. If these *masands* misuse the money collected from innocent disciples for charitable purposes, they will be working up their own ruin and moral death. When money collected for religious and charitable purposes is used to amass personal fortunes it brings in its trail calamity and woes of untold magnitude. I am not interested in, either the money, or the faith of these wolves in sheep's clothing, who cease to have even the basic qualities of an ordinary Sikh."

Many far-sighted *masands* consulted the *Sangat* (congregation) of their dioceses and devised ingenious methods of testing the grace and spiritual powers of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his last rival Dhir Mal before making a choice between them. Sikh chroniclers have recorded an interesting anecdote of the way this was done by the *masands,* Gonda and Cheto of Kabul.[6]

It so happened that the envoys of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Dhir Mal reached Kabul on the same day. Both of them pleaded the cases of their respective Master so strongly that it became difficult for *masands* Gonda and Cheto to know who was speaking the truth, and whose Master was the true successor of Guru Hari Krishen. Cheto and Gonda held many meetings with prominent Sikhs of Kabul to solve this riddle and many proposals were made to put them to test. At last it was decided that both the *siropaos* should be weighed and the one which was heavier should be accepted. When the envoys presented the *siropaos* in the presence of a gathering of distinguished Sikhs, it was noticed that Dhir Mal's *siropaos* contained robes and a turban made of brocade and other rich gifts, while the *siropao* of Guru Tegh Bahadur consisted of robes and turbans of simple cloth.[7] To all observers present, the *siropao* of Dhir Mal definitely appeared to be the heavier one. Yet the *Sangat* (the congregation) believed that if Guru Tegh Bahadur was the true successor, the scales would turn in his favour. A congregational prayer was held and the *masands* invoked God to guide them by the test they had unanimously adopted. The scales gave a miraculous surprise to all observers when contrary to everyone's expectations they showed Guru Tegh Bahadur's *siropao* to

be much heavier than that of Dhir Mal. Guru Tegh Bahadur was acknowledged as the true successor of Guru Hari Krishen and Dhir Mal's *siropao* was courteously returned.[8]

At Bakala, Guru Tegh Bahadur was ready to leave for Kiratpur. While those who had come from Kiratpur with invitation from Mata Sulakhni were very happy that the Guru was leaving for the Vatican city, Holy Mother Nanaki felt very sad,[9] because she was leaving for ever the place where she had been born, brought up, married, and where, for the last twenty years, she had watched her son performing *tapasya* (enlightened self-discipline), with a singlemindedness and patience, which have few parallels in history. Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, was sent a few days earlier to make arrangements for Guru Tegh Bahadur's reception and stay at Kiratpur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur, Makhan Shah, Mati Das and Dayal Das rode on horseback ahead of everybody. Under the supervision of Kirpal Chand followed a large convoy of chariots, bullocks, horses, camels and carts. When Guru Tegh Bahadur reached the Beas ferry the boats were on the other side of the river bank. While they were waiting for the boats the Guru's entourage arrived.[10] Guruji saw some persons carrying something in a small palanquin. His curiosity was aroused, so he asked them what they were carrying. One of the men replied : "It is the first compiled volume of *Adi Granth* (*Pothi Sahib*)."[11]

Guru Tegh Bahadur was taken aback by the information and he felt pained to see that his order to return what belonged to Dhir Mal was not obeyed. The grim silence and pensive mood on his calm face showed his extreme displeasure at what had been done without his knowledge. In a solemn and sad voice he asked: "May I know who countermanded my orders, and directed you to keep this Holy Scripture in our durbar ? Why was it not returned to Dhir Mal from whom it was taken by force?"[12]

Makhan Shah and the ministers of the Guru's durbar now realised that Guru Tegh Bahadur felt deeply hurt by what they had done. With eyes lowered they stood speechless and sad at having earned the Guru's displeasure. Kirpal was the first to realise that a frank confession and unfeigned explanation alone could ease the situation. He stepped forward and bow-

ing in reverence said: "Exalted One, it was the pious wish of Holy Mother and Makhan Shah that this historical recension of the *Adi Granth* compiled by your revered grandfather. Guru Arjan, should not be returned. When your noble father, the great Guru Hargobind, moved from Kartarpur to Kiratpur, Dhir Mal deceptively purloined it from his durbar and did not give it to Guru Hargobind even when he asked for it. It was retained by us because it actually belongs to the true successors of your grandfather, Guru Arjan, who compiled it. No impostor, much less a thief, a plunderer, and heartless assassin, has the right to keep."[13]

"If Dhir Mal purloined it, as you say," said Guru Tegh Bahadur "you have plundered it and taken it by force from his house. Even if it is the most sacred thing and of great historical importance, it is stolen property, and must be returned to him. We have other correct copies of the *Adi Granth* which serve our purpose. There is no need to deify this particular volume and make a cult out of it. In times to come enlightened Sikhs will respect the copies prepared subsequently equally well. Return this Holy Book to Dhir Mal at once." Guruji refused to listen to the pathetic sentimental pleadings and arguments of Holy Mother Nanaki.[14] When Kirpal again argued that the surrender of the Holy Granth might jeopardize the sanctity of the Sacred Book, as Dhir Mal might make changes to suit his own ends, Guru Tegh Bahadur replied: "It was the veracity and the integrity of the true incumbent of Guru Nanak's *gaddi* that was at stake; it was the honour and ethical code of the Sikh faith which would be endangered if it were not returned. I would never allow any Sikh of my durbar to steal holy scriptures and relics to enrich the durbar. It is immoral to keep anything that has been acquired by force."

Guru Tegh Bahadur then asked if any one of his disciples would volunteer to take it back to Dhir Mal. No one came forward to carry it back to Dhir Mal. On behalf of the *Sangat,* a prominent Sikh apologetically explained that Dhir Mal's recent deeds had created such a contempt for him in their minds that no one was even prepared to see his face.[15] Whoever went to him might have to listen to insulting and abusive words flung at the perfect personality of the Guru, and an altercation was bound to arise. Soon the ferry boats

arrived and Guru Tegh Bahadur ordered that the Holy Book should be carried in a boat to the other bank of the river.[16]

Everyone crossed the river on rafts and boats. On the other bank a large number of villagers were waiting for a sight of the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur found that a number of villagers had come from Kartarpur. He asked them if any one could take a message to Dhir Mal. A peasant from Kartarpur volunteered to convey the Guru's message to Dhir Mal. Addressing him, Guru Tegh Bahadur said : "Tell Dhir Mal, that I am burying the Holy Book on the bank of the river in this place. He should come and take it as quickly as possible. You can show him the exact place where I am hiding it."[17] The ferryman was asked to keep watch over it and not permit anyone else to take it. After securely depositing the Holy Book in a deeply dug hole on the bank of river Beas, the Guru moved on.

The same evening Guru Tegh Bahadur arrived at Hazara, a village not far from Kartarpur. Here the Guru spent the night. A shrine was subsequently built in commemoration of the Guru's visit. From Hazara Guru Tegh Bahadur's entourage went to Phagwara, where after a night's stay they moved on to a village Durga, near Nawashahar.[18] Here also a temple was erected in his honour. The people of Doaba rushed to the highway leading to Kiratpur to have a glimpse of the forty-three-year-old ninth Guru of the Sikhs. The dignity of his serene presence, the bliss of his sad and sweet songs, the wisdom of his illuminating sermons, attracted hundreds of people in every city, and in every village on the high road. The rich and the poor, the high and the low, flocked to see the new prophet.[19] Some of them followed him to Kiratpur which was not far off.

When Dhir Mal was informed by the peasant that the Holy Book had been deposited on the banks of Beas river he was very happy. But Shihan suspected that it was only a trap to fool him. He made fun of the information that had been sent to Dhir Mal, saying: "Now after so many days they have suddenly decided to return the Holy Book to us. How has this pious wish suddenly dawned on them just on the day of their departure? They are camping now closer to Kartarpur than before. They want us to go there alone so that we may become victims of their revenge and they may

easily take over Kartarpur from us." Fear overpowered both of them, and they did not take the information seriously.[20]

In his quiet moments Dhir Mal knew that Guru Tegh Bahadur could never tell a lie. Nor could he ever lay such a trap for him. In his innermost mind he had a deep seated faith in the veracity and integrity of Guru Tegh Bahadur, though he did not dare to confess it to his overbearing *masands*. He again sent for the peasant who had brought the message from Guru Tegh Bahadur, and asked him whether the Guru gave the message personally, or it was delivered on his behalf by someone else. The peasant told him on oath that the Guru personally asked him to convey the message. His disciples had refused to come and even see Dhir Mal. "Do you know the exact place where it is buried ?" Dhir Mal asked. "The river is in tide, sir, for the last few days and the banks are overflowing. If it is not under water I can point out the exact place. If it is under water I can show you where it can be possibly searched for, and found. The more you delay the greater is the risk of not recovering it at all." Shihan once more tried to prevent Dhir Mal from venturing to find it. He showed him the rising tide of the river which must have swept it and destroyed it even if it had been kept there. "Was a river bank the proper place for keeping the Holy Book" ? he asked.[21]

Now that Guru Tegh Bahadur and his followers had reached Kiratpur, there was no fear of being molested by Makhan Shah and his men. Dhir Mal went to the river bank and after a patient search found the Holy Book, which was slightly wet but not damaged.[22] Having acquired the Holy Book, Dhir Mal immediately dispatched secret agents to Kiratpur to contact Mata Sulakhni, and High Priest Bhai Gurditta, and acquire from them the royal diamond studded crest (*kalgi*), and the hawk at any price.[23] He offered them fabulous sums to get possession of these things, which he thought would help him in regaining the lost ground in his bid to establish himself as parallel ninth guru, possessing rare relics and the Holy Book of his predecessors. But Bhai Gurditta and Mata Sulakhni asked Dhir Mal's agents to leave Kiratpur immediately.

Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Kiratpur via Rupar. A few days after his arrival, a durbar was held at Kiratpur and Bhai Gurditta formally presented to the Guru, the royal crest (*kalgi*), the hawk, the sword, the army commanders, and their regiments, and all other paraphernalia of his predecessor.[24] Guru Tegh Bahadur requested Mata Sulakhni to keep all the personal belongings of Guru Hari Krishen. Dip Chand, son of Suraj Mal, bowed before Guru Tegh Bahadur reverently acknowledging him as the ninth Guru. He showed no rivalry and antagonism even towards his nephew, Guru Hari Krishen, and allowed him to exercise his spiritual sovereignty in Kiratpur. There is hardly any ground to believe that he showed any rivalry and ill-will towards Guru Tegh Bahadur, who was his uncle, and held an exalted position by reason of his age and pre-eminence in spiritual powers.[28]

Among the distinguished visitors who came to pay homage to the Master was Rani Jalal Devi, wife of the late Raja Dip Chand of Bilaspur. Her husband had been poisoned by the Raja of Kangra. Her son, Bhim Chand, was too young to rule. Bhim Chand's uncle Manak Chand was the chief wazir who had become so overbearing that Queen Mother, Jalal Devi, suspected that he was trying to capture the throne with the help of the Mians, the descendants of Gyan Chand, the 27th Raja of the state who under coercion had accepted Islam.[26]

Blessed and encouraged by the Master, and Holy Mother Nanaki, to herself watch the interests of her son, she offered substantial amount of money and land to build a new city for their residence. Guru Tegh Bahadur refused to accept the land as gift but agreed to buy it on reasonable payment in the vicinity of Kiratpur. An old historical village named Makhowal five miles away from Kiratpur was selected as the site for the new Vatican city, which was named Nanaki Chak.[27] When Guru Tegh Bahadur returned from his missionary tours the city was further extended and named Anandpur: the city of Joy. The two portions of the city were until recently marked as Nanaki Chak and Anandpur in revenue papers.[28]

The *masands* from various regions started coming for the Baisakhi[29] (New Year festival). From Dacca came Bulaki Das and Hulas Chand; Bhai Darbari and Chain Sukh came

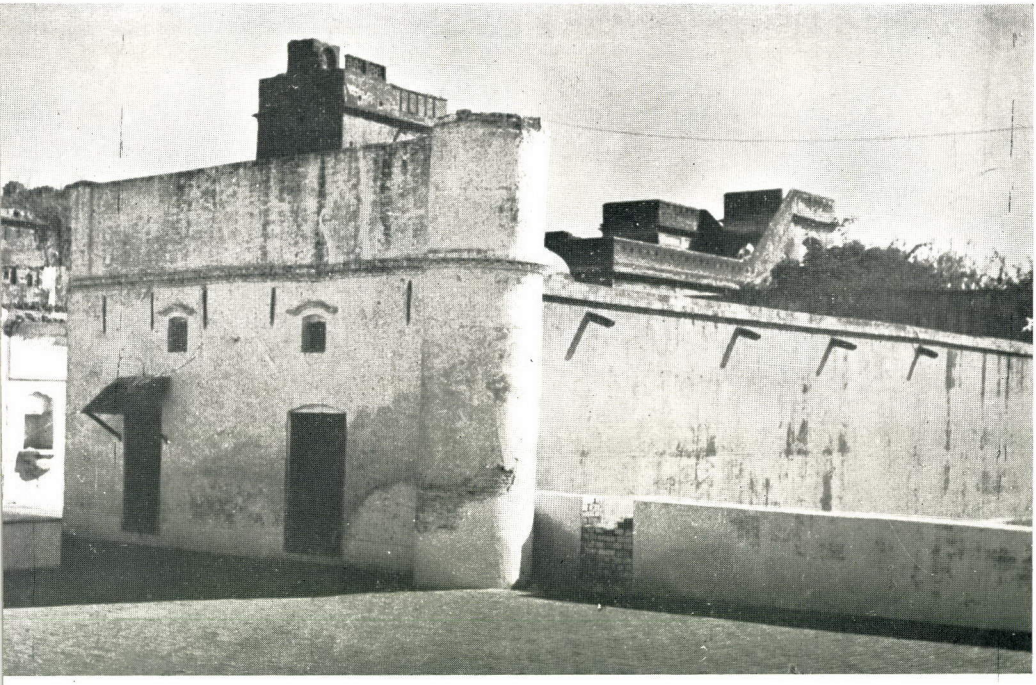
from Patna ; Bhai Kalyan Chand, and Bhai Lakhi Rai, the palace contractor, with his sons Nagahyia, Hema and others from Delhi ; Bhai Javehar Mal and Bhai Sambhu from Benaras ;[30] and leading *masands* from Kashmir, Lucknow, Ayudhia and other places. They all brought tithes, special offerings of disciples, rare articles like muslin, brocade, carpets, silk, gold, silver, precious stones, horses and swords. Many of them offered copies of *Japji, Sukhmani* and other Sikh Scripture. Guru Tegh Bahadur blessed them all and gave robes of honour to all.

The foundation stone of Nanaki Chak was laid at Makhowal village, the whole of which, along with considerable adjoining land, was bought by Guru Tegh Bahadur, after paying a substantial amount to Jalal Devi, Queen Mother of the Bilaspur State.[31] According to another historical record three villages Makhowal, Mathaur and Lodhipur founded by two Muslim brothers Makhe Khan and Mate Khan were bought by the Guru. A legend was subsequently constructed around Makhe, who is pictured as a titan. Early Muslim conquerors were generally dubbed as titans.

A well planned city started being constructed. The construction of three major buildings was first simultaneously started : the temple, the rest house and the Guru's residence.[22] All ministers and prominent disciples were given land free, and money enough to construct houses for themselves according to their requirements. Land was also given free to all traders, and shop keepers, for starting business centres, but they were to complete their buildings at their own cost. Land for tilling was given free to peasants who came to settle there, on the condition that they gave a portion of their produce for the common kitchen.

Just before leaving Kiratpur the *masands* from Dacca and Patna begged the Guru to come to the East, as no Guru after Guru Nanak had been able to visit these places. They begged the Guru to come with his family, and major portion of the durbar, so that he may never be in hurry to rush back. They undertook to bear all the expenses of his journey. Guru Tegh Bahadur at once agreed.

A Muslim saint of Rupar stopped at Anandpur on his way to the capital of the State. When he saw a whole city



Guru ke Mahal (The Guru's residence) Anandpur



Bhora (Meditation Cell), Anandpur

under construction, he asked an architect working at the project. "What is the name of the prince who is building the city?" The architect replied: "Our prophet and world-teacher, Guru Tegh Bahadur is building the city as his religious capital."[33] "Good God, what type of a prophet and *Pir* is he who is building such large mansions for himself in this transient world? If he is so sadly immersed in amassing wealth and property how can he liberate his disciples from worldly desires, and how can he help them to cross this fearsome ocean of life?[34] Will you please ask him on my behalf, what kind of religion and holiness is this which is busy building earthly mansions?" I will wait for the reply till tomorrow."

The next day the architect informed the Muslim Saint that the Guru had invited him to the durbar, where he would like to answer his question directly to him. "The saint went to the Guru's durbar and after respectful salutation, he sat down on a seat given to him close by." "Welcome *Pirji*, May I know to what school of thought you belong, and what are you interested to know about our faith?" Guru Tegh Bahadur asked him. The *Pir* respectfully said : "I am a Sufi Sayyed of Rupar where I have my *Khanqah*. You are the spiritual leader of a well known faith but, Sir, how do you reconcile the love of God and spiritual life with building such costly earthly mansions, and wasting your time in secular interests and pursuits? Do you not believe that the world is transient, and a saint should not divert his attention to such useless things as building cities, mansions, and acquiring chariots, horses, and other worldly goods."

"Noble *Pir*," replied Guru Tegh Bahadur, "the world is transient and that indeed is the first lesson I teach. No one should live in the world thinking it to be lasting and permanent. Only foolish and ignorant people let their heart and soul sink into lust for wealth, power, and pleasures of the senses. But this very world and human society are the abode of truth. In human society abides and shines the light of God, and no one who runs aways from society can truly know God and participate in His Divine play. The essence of all faiths leading to God and Truth is, "charity and humanity," which can best be practised only in the social life of a

householder. There is a legend which illustrates my point well. There was once a tiger who after having his fill found three holy men resting in his den. There was hailstorm and rain outside, and the tiger knew that as soon as he went in, they might run out, and in the bitter cold night they were bound to face death. Out of charity and compassion for them he waited all night outside, not allowing other tigers to come near. Early in the morning the three men found the tiger dead.[37] They felt that the tiger had sacrificed his own life to save theirs from rain and frost. They prayed to God to bless the tiger for the charity and self-sacrifice he had shown. As a reward, it is said, he acquired a place in the highest spiritual realm. Thus humanity and charity are the moral and spiritual essence of true religion. All else is vanity. Why should man become a recluse and go to the forests to search for God ? The all-pervading God resides in you, and in everyone. He is ever so close to you. Whether you know it or not, it is within you like the fragrance in the flower, like the image in the mirror. Search for Him within your own self; search for Him and know Him in the heart of humanity and world existence. Know Him to be within you and outside you. The world is transient, but not the sustaining and all pervading spirit of the world and human society. Without this knowledge, the pain of delusion and spiritual ignorance can never depart. This knowledge can best be attained in the healthy, social, and cultural life of a householder. All these mansions I am building are not mine. They are being built with the money of the people, by the labour of love of the people. They are being built for saints and noble seekers of truth like you. They are as much yours as they are mine. I do not deem anything as my personal property, nor am I attached to any. For centuries to come these mansions shall continue to be the temple of God, the home and hearth of God-loving humanity, and the abode of peace and joy."

Tears rolled down the eyes of the *Pir*, as he listened to the impassioned discourse of Guru Tegh Bahadur. "Blessed be thy noble mission, blessed be thy ideals, and blessed be thy mansions, Exalted One, in which the barriers between the Hindus and Muslims have fallen, the divisions between castes and creeds have been erased."

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1 Satī Dās Matī Dās Guru Tegh Bahadur nū kehiā,
jī musadīāñ masañdāñ nū siropāo bhejo jithe koī rehiā.
Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bansāvlināmā.*

2 Saṅgat hai masañdan de havāle,
Saṅgat ate golak mele vasākh de laī āvan nāle.
ibid.

3 sabhnī jaghīñ siropāo masañdāñ nū paṭhāe
jithe jithe masañd ahe othe hī ṭhehrāe
Dhīr Mal de bhī eh gal lage karan.
ibid.

4 Mātā mañtrī kehat sunāe,
yeh masañd tumre jo kahāvai,
saṅgat te dhan bahu bidh lyāven.
neh devat kich tumeh khazānā,
greh apne meh rākhat āne ;
tabe utar Gur yahī sunāyā
Gur ke kām nahī kich māyā,
Mātā sacav pun kehat pukārī
masañd tāḍan laik bhārī.
Gulab Singh *Shahīdī pāt* : *nauvīñ.*

5 tab Gur utar yehī paṭhāyā
Gur ke kām nahī kich māyā.
ibid.

6 Kābul bhī siropāo paṭhāe
Cheto ate Gonda masañd ahe.
Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bañsavlīnāmā.*

7 Guru ke sād murāde
Dhir Mal jarī de banāe.
ibid.

8 cit mai citvan dharī aise,
jo gur hoe janāvo taise ;
nij azmat ko moh janāvo
dās jan ab caran lagāvo
im ur dhar takrī par tolī
bhaī Dhir Mal kī tab haulī
Sikh Saṅgat teh keh samudāe
Dhan Gurū bole harkhāe.
Suraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Añsū* 27

9 Māt Nānakī lakh sabh bāt
neh rehbe kī marzī tāt
ghar kī vast sarab saṁbhvai
ciraṅkāl kī basat jo hai,
neh cit cehat tyāgbe grāmū
pat pāche basī kar dhāmū
tau jan sabh rīt lacārī
vast saṁbhār drig jal dārī.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Añsū* 23.

10 uth Srī Guru Tegh Bahādur Rāī
le Makhan ko apne saṅg
caḍhe turaṅgan par subh raṅg
pāche Makhan caḍh kar pyānā
saṅg kitak aswār sujānā.
... ...
naukā nahī nikāt ko āi
im bilok ṭhāṅde tis ṭhāi,
sāth pachlo āvat cālā
karat bilokan khare kripālā.
ibid : *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 23.

11 Tegh Bahādur Guru bakhānyo
11 kaun graṅth sāhib eh ānyo
kit lai jāe ahe kit pās,
bujho isko karoh prakās.
ibid.

12 hamre saṅg kaun bidh rehīo
kin eh rākh sāth nij ānyo
pheran kehīo, nahī so mānyo
ibid.

13 tabe Kripāl sunāvan kīn
Makhan aur Mātā neh dīn,
huto pitāme rāvar kerā
jinoh Graṅth jī kīn baderā
yāṅte vastū ap kī ahai
jo gur gaddī par so lahai
im bicār dīo nā māt
ucit bicār leh sukh datār.
Sūraj Prākāsh : *Ras* 11, *Aṅsū* 24.

14 he sut kyoṅ haṭh karo bader
durlabh vastū āpan badan kī
bahur nā prāpat anik jatan kī
... ...
hamre saṅg nā rākhan karo
srī kartarpur le dharo
ibid.

15 sun sikhian sabh jorī hath
hoe nimar bole gur hāṭh ;
Dhir Mal tan man te khotā
tis te dekhan te bahu totā,
ham tis kī dis mukh neh kareh
milbe ki baṅcnā neh dhareh.
ibid.

16 Guru Graṅth ko tarī majhār,
subh thāl pikh kar dharyo majhār,
karandhar tab preran karī
nīr gambhīr sīghār cal tarī
parle tīr gaī tatkālā
utar pare satgurū kirpālā.
ibid.

17 ik nar Sri Kartārpūr ko
utryo gur kai saṅg ur ko
bujhan kīno tāṅh bikhānā
mai tis nagar bikhai cal jānā.
satgur kehio kāj ham kījai
ek sandeś Dhir Mal dīje
Guru Graṅth jo tum te leyo
so daryao bikhe dhar deo
āp jae kar leo nikās
pun sadīv tum rakho pās.

ibid.

18 "Meanwhile the Guru pursuing his journey arrived at the village of Hazra situated not far from Kartarpur, where a memorial Sikh Church was subsequently built in commemoration of his visit. The next day he reached Durga near Nawashahar where also an edifice was erected in his honour.

M. A. Macaulīffe: *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV, p 337

19 jahāṅ des Doābe parai der āī,
mile des esan baḍī bhet lyāī,
kripā siṅdh tiran hazuran bakhānai
baso nāth ihāṅ nijaṁ dhām jānai.
tinai sudh budaṁ prabhū yoṁ driḍāvai
jap satnaṁ kukarṁ tajāvai
karo saṅt sevan subhevaṅ līje
baḍe bhāg āchai pūran ke sunhoi
pare nāth derā vahen jāe joi.
kare kūc kūcan sitāban sidhāyo
tabai madha dunā basai sukh pāyo.

Sukha Singh: *Gurbilās patsāhī* 10, p 19

20 Shihāṅ dust masaṅd hatāvai
Gur mai augan kalp sunāvai.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 aṅsū 26

21 sun masaṅd Shīhen bac kehio
bātan te anaṅd kim lehio
tero hai sarīk sū bhārā
subh gunvaṅtā jisai bicārā
hasī karī toh saṅg aise
jag mai haurā hoe haiṅ jaise,
khojaiṅ jabhi jāe bipāsā

ibid

22 niksio Granth bilokyo tabai
upar jāl sioṅ bhījīo tabai
khol bilokio sabh bismai
upar te bhigīo sabh ṭhāe
jeh lag akhar hai bic likhai
pahuncio nīr na tin ko bikhai.
sakal susak jioṅ ke tioṅ ahe
dekhat ridai acambhā lahe

jab ko dhario divas tab gine
trodas bite tis nar bhane.

ibid

kadh ke Graṅth jī nīr ke myaṅ te lyo jab Mal jī sukh pāe,
ek teh nir kī buṅd parsī nahī nirkh didār aise alāe,

Sukha Singh: Gurbilās pāt 10

At Lachmipur in Bihar I saw an old recension of *Adi Granth* which suffered much worst fate. The Sikhs carried it in a boat along the bank of Brahmaputra when a swift tide sank the boat and the men on board escaped with difficulty. After six months the copy of the *Adi Granth* was found intact when the water of the river receded. Only the margin of the pages became slightly wet.

Guru Tegh Bahadur wanted the Holy Book to be safely delivered to Dhir Mal; so those writers who have tried to make of a simple story a miraculous legend, have gone to the length of saying that Guru Tegh Bahadur threw it in the middle of the river from where it was miraculously recovered. To destroy it was a greater sin than keeping it under the circumstances in which it had been brought. Kavi Santokh Singh also tries to make it slightly miraculous by saying that it had to be fished out of water and Dhir Mal succeeded in doing so only when he prayed with a pure heart he however makes the following facts clear (1) Guru Tegh Bahadur wanted it to go back to Dhir Mal (2) He took it across the river to the bank which was on the side of Kartarpur (3) He buried it in a secure place (4) He sent a message to Dhir Mal to come and take it (5) Dhir Mal found that the place was now under water but when he took out the Holy Book he found it intact. Only the margins of the pages were slightly wet.

Two factors have given rise to the belief in many quarters that the Holy Book that is shown at Kartarpur by Dhir Mal's descendents is not genuine. (1) The heirs of Dhir Mal have never allowed scholars to study the Holy Book in detail. Whenever they give a little time to look at it superficially their eye catches the apocryphal element added to it by Dhir Mal's successors. Most of these scholars have written about what they should not have found there, but no scholar has given a positive study of what is there. (2) Those who possess it have themselves never tried to clear the misunderstanding that has been created by many well meaning scholars, though what has been written about it by agnostic and wilfully harmful writers like G. B. Singh (see *Prāchīn Bīdāṅ)* without even seeing the Holy Book is not worth any reasonable man's notice. (3) Still more confusion has been created by a few half-baked scholars of Chief-Khalsa Diwan who tried to use the Holy Book as a proof in support of Ragmala and their theory of Manglacharan, although their

equally sentimental opponents have used this very recension to prove just the opposite. The heated controversy has led both the groups away from the Kartarpur recension to an allegedly genuine Damdama version. I am happy however that scholars, historians and theologians who really are competent to study these old recensions wisely kept out of this controversy. If half the money spent by politicians on these absurd controversies had been spent on scientific research on these issues, something positive could have been achieved and the truth about the historicity of Kartarpur recension and the Damdama recension might have been established. Having studied all the statements made by a number of scholars about the Kartarpur recension, I feel constrained to say that the bland conclusions drawn from such superficial study should not be taken as final or correct.

[23] Dhir Mal kar cintā manai
bridh kul nikat paṭhāi nar ghanai,
Kalgī, bāj bhet mujh dījai
jitau cahai dhan tum ab lījai
anik upāvan ko kar hāra
tinoh nahī mani ik barā.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Añsū* 27

[24] ibid *Rās* 11 *Añsū* 27.

[25] I have found no historical evidence to show that Suraj Mal's descendent Dip Chand ever showed any ill will or rivalry either towards Guru Hari Rai, or Guru Hari Krishenji or Guru Tegh Bahadur. Had he done so Guru Tegh Bahadur might not have come to Kiratpur at all and he would not have established his centre so close to Kiratpur. Immediately after the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur even the descendants of Suraj Mal shifted to Anandpur and later entered the Khalsa Holy Order of Guru Gobind Singh. Nor is there any ground to believe that Dhir Mal and Ram Rai jointly made a representation against Guru Tegh Bahadur to Aurangzeb for having usurped the Guruship but the Emperor refused to listen to them.

Many non-Sikh historians have confused the rivalry between Guru Har Krishen and Ram Rai and that between Dhir Mal and Guru Tegh Bahadur. Dhir Mal did not play any part in the first battle of succession while Ram Rai did not take part in the second. The first took place in February 1664 A.D., the second took place in April and May the same year. As Guru Harkrishen was less known to non-Sikh historians they have blamed Ram Rai for fighting against Guru Tegh Bahadur, in which Raja Jai Singh helped Guru Tegh Bahadur. Even some Sikh historians have uncritically accepted this confusion. As a matter of fact Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh were in South India at the time when Guru Tegh Bahadur was declared Guru. The intervention of

Jai Singh and Ram Singh took place in Ram Rai's battle of succession with Guru Hari Krishen and not with Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[26] "Bhim Chand was only a child. Manak Chand his uncle was appointed wazir who was tyrannical. Jalal Devi the Queen Mother expelled him."

Hutchison and Vogel: *History of Punjab Hill States*

"The Mians whose influence on subsequent history of the states has been at times troublesome, seem first to have arisen to power during the reign of Dip Chand. On his death they claimed the throne for one of their own number, Manak Chand and with the help of Raja of Kangra attacked the rightful heir, Bhim Chand, then a boy of fourteen."

Punjab State Gazetteers Vol. III 1910:
Simla Hills: Bilaspur.

[27] Kesar Singh Chibber and a few other records state that Guru Tegh Bahadur bought three villages: Makhowal, Mathaur and Lodhipur, originally founded by two Pathan brothers Makhe Khan and Mate Khan, remembered in local legends as titans who subdued this peaceful territory and whose souls were still believed to be haunting the place. Makhowal village was selected as the actual site of the Guru's temple, residence and the rest house. It was named Nanaki Chak, and the name of this portion of the city has come down in revenue records as Nanaki Chak. When Guru Gobind Singh was brought from Patna, the city was further extended. The house which Guru Tegh Bahadur built for his residence is called Guru ke Mahal. It has the meditation cell of Guru Tegh Bahadur also. The portion of the city which was extended towards south east was named Anandpur, either by Guru Tegh Bahadur or by Guru Gobind Singh.

[28] satreh sai nau bīs mai chetar mās pachān
Tegh Bahadur Guru dhig, Chak Nānakī māhi
bānī padhai bāni sunai, bāni likhai likhāh

Sewa Singh: *Shahīd Bilās* p 59.

[29] janio tab masaṅd samudāi,
le le briṅd padārath āe,
bhae dīn pad sīs nivae.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 27

[30] The names of these masaṅds are recorded in the letters of Guru Tegh Bahādur which are quoted in detail along with photostat copies in chapters on Guru Tegh Bahādur's travels in the East.

[31] zar kharīd ke pate likhāe
le satgur nij nikat rakāe.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 28.

an basaīo chak tab Anandpur kī jāe
zar kharīd jagā le jānā
nagar racīo ācho sukhdānā

Mātājī ke ism nidhān

Sukha Singh : *Gurbilās patshāhi* 10.

tab gur zar kharīd kar dhartī
grām basāyo nadī tat jartī.

Gyan Singh, *Panth Prakāsh.*

"Makhowal usually called Anandpur is situated on the left bank of Satlej in Talika Jandbari. Tegh Bahādur having left Bakala in the Amritsar district came to these parts and purchased land from the Raja of Bilaspur.

Hoshiarpur Dist. Gazetteer : 1883 p 154

Teja Singh and Ganda Singh in their "*A Short Sikh History of the Sikhs*", page 52, say that Guru Tegh Bahadur paid Rs. 500 for the land acquired by him to the Raja of Kahlur. They have however not given the source of their information. The amount appears to be a bit too little for so much land. It is quite possible that Queen Mother Jalal Devi who struck the deal and was prepared to give the whole land free, accepted only a nominal amount.

[32] pun satgur nij dhāman kerī
nivī nīv khudāi ghanerī
... ...
ik dharamsāl baḍī banāī,
jis meh saṅgat utreh āī,
... ...
ketak cineh cināveh keī,
le kutaṁb base teh teī
cīni dukān bazār banāyo
le vastan bivhār calāyo.

Suraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsu* 28

[33] sunat silāpyan utār dīo,
Sri Hargobind kul caṅd,
tin ke Tegh Bahādur naṅd,
tineh karāyo eh bar maṅdīr.

ibid Ras 11 *Ansu* 30

[34] im parvirt mahe ridā tumāro
gan sevak kim pār utāro
ev prasan kar utar lījo
hat avon mai tab tum dījo.

ibid

[35] jhukīo salām kīn bhā kharo
kharo bhāe antar ur bhāro.

ibid.

[36] kaun aho tum kahān basaṅto kya pūchat ho kahāo mataṅto ?
bhanyo pīr ne Sayyed-mai hoṅ, Rupar nagār bikhai basāi hoṅ.

ibid.

[37] The legend is given by Santokh Singh in the form of a dramatic story. To relate legendary stories in Aesop fashion to illustrate ethical and spiritual truths was one way of conveying deep truths adopted by Buddha, Christ and the Sikh

Gurus. Legendary stories were found to be far more harmless than the historical ones which could cause offence to historical figures.

CHAPTER XV

THE CALL FROM THE EAST

FOR many months Makhan Shah dominated the stage of eventful Sikh history, as defender of faith, champion of truth, revealer of the ninth Guru, a terror to impostors and a relentless fighter against falsehood in all spheres of life. Penetrating and passionate rather than genial and urbane, and consumed with religious enthusiasm in the literal sense of the word, Makhan Shah was a practical soul, powerful and imposing in action, capable of laborious organisation and always impatiently patient in upholding and revealing the glory and greatness of his beloved Master. His faults and virtues were near allied and mutually indispensable. Impetuous and courageous, Makhan Shah was decisive and uncompromising in his conviction, domineering and energetic in the execution of his plan. He was inspired and creative in his vision, ambitious and proud before man, submissive and humble before his God and Guru.

In his six months of quest for the true Guru and his grace, he had made history. The more he lived in communion and association with Guru Tegh Bahadur, the more God-intoxicated he became. The charity and humanity radiated by the Master absorbed all his attention. He spent all his time, money and energy in the labour of love, which under the guidance and inspiration of the Guru sought to remove the physical, mental and spiritual hungers of the toiling and suffering humanity. One day, one of his men reminded him that the rainy season was over and it was high time to attend to his trade commitment. With a heavy heart he asked his men to get ready to depart.

He first met Holy Mother Nanaki and sought her blessings. "Makhan, my dear child," said the Holy Mother, the services you have rendered will be remembered for all time to come. To me you shall always be as dear as my son and wherever you go and wherever you are, my blessings shall always be with you. Makhan was speechless. He wept like a child, as he touched the Holy Mother's feet in humble adoration. He then bowed in devout reverence to divine

Mother Gujari who affectionately said: "Would you leave us so soon Brother Makhan? What will be the Guru's durbar without you?" "There are such great souls in the Guru's durbar, Mataji," said Makhan Shah, "that I am not worth the dust of their shoes. Remember this humble creature and pray for me always. Thy blessings are my salvation divine Mother."

Makhan Shah then went to the Guru's durbar to bid farewell to the Master. He was happy to see Guru Tegh Bahadur in resplendent glory but he was sad at the thought that he might never get an opportunity to see him again. The sight of thousands of disciples coming from far off places to acknowledge him as the Guru gave great joy to Makhan.[1]

With folded hands Makhan Shah stood before Guru Tegh Bahadur who bestowed on him very costly robes of honour and blessed him with a godly grace.[2] He and his men were given precious gifts which a king only could bestow on a prince and his *entourage.* Overwhelmed by the love and respect shown to him by Guruji, Makhan Shah said: "Forget me never, Gurudeva, forget me never. Ever remember this humble creature with compassion and mercy. Protect me ever, O Redeemer, with thy saving grace. Keep me ever close to thy lotus feet. Separation from thee will be unbearable."[3]

Blessing Makhan Shah with tender affection, Guru Tegh Bahadur said: "You are the most sincere devotee of Guru Nanak. All your bonds of birth and death are broken. You have taken refuge in Truth. Ever contemplate the divine Word which shines like a diamond in your soul and ever live in the peace of your spiritual enlightment. How can you ever be separated from me dear Makhan? You are the noblest example of a Sikh, and like a true Sikh you live in unbroken spiritual communion with the Guru. When you are so deeply and eternally united with me in the life of the spirit, the temporary separation in the physical world is no separation. You have achieved the perfect self-illumination of *Nirvana* in the light and wisdom of which neither joy nor sorrow, neither pleasure nor pain will ever disturb your peace. You are a *jivan mukta,* "the liberated in life."[4]

Mute in the joy of blessings and love, Makhan Shah bowed low and placed his head on the lotus feet of Guru

Tegh Bahadur. The Master's hands blessed him with tender affection and urged him not to make the parting so painful. But Makhan Shah would not leave his affectionate hold of the Master's feet, which he adored in complete self-consecration. His heart heaved with the poignant thought of parting from the Guru, and his soul trembled in a thousand reveries. He could not control his tears. His whole life throbbed on the lotus feet of the Guru. Under the persuasion of the Master he got up, but he bowed in utter dedication and love once again.[5] The will of the Guru to him was the Will of God. Without turning his back to the Guru, he came out of the durbar. All the Ministers came to bid him farewell. Again and again he looked back to have a last look at the glorious durbar of the Guru[6] Then greeting all the Ministers with folded hands, he rode away at full speed.

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, Guru Nanak set out on the mission of sowing the seeds of his new religion of Love (*Gurmat Marag*) in the old places of pilgrimage and centres of faith. By visiting every Hindu sacred place, Buddhist shrine, Muslim centre and other holy places, Guru Nanak not only established a bond between them in the light of his philosophy but his spiritual dialogue with them gave a new outlook and evoked a new vision of unity and co-operation in the religious firmament of Asia.[7] The very spot in these places of pilgrimage where he sat and delivered his message to Sufi pirs, Buddhist Bhikkus, Hindu pundits, yogis and sannyasins, became a place of worship and centre of Guru Nanak's faith known as the *Sangat*.[8] Thus all the places of pilgrimage which were sacred to Muslims, Hindus, Jains, Buddhists also became sacred places of pilgrimage and historical shrines for the Sikhs.

In all these places Guru Amar Das established remarkable missionary centres under the leadership of inspired and thoroughly trained men and women, who kept the light of faith blazing in full splendour upto the time of Guru Hargobind. The Heads of these missionary centres visited the Guru in the Punjab once a year either at *Diwali* or at *Baisakhi*. But for over a century no successor of Guru Nanak was able to visit these places beyond Benaras to illumine them with his Presence and reorganise them according to the changing needs and times.

Guru Nanak had undertaken these missionary journeys after spending many years in elected silence at Rori Sahib and his first journey was to the East.[9] Guru Tegh Bahadur likewise, after many years of *tapasya* (concentrated communion with God), deemed it his first and foremost task to put in new life, new spirit and new activity into these places of pilgrimage. His aim was positive and not negative, as some cynical historians seeking pessimism in everything Guru Tegh Bahadur did, assert by saying without any evidence, that he wanted to avoid conflict with his close rivals at Kiratpur. When he had already established an independent religious capital where was the question of rivalry? Why did he then come back to the place, when conditions were favourable for the rivals and quite unfavourable for him ? If his aim was just to escape trouble, why did he not quietly rest in one place, and why did he go to those regions of the country which were a terror even to daring travellers and conquerors ? Guru Tegh Bahadur did not run away from the Punjab but he felt that the Sikh mission was for the whole country, for the whole world, and the provincial boundaries should be broken again and again. The country divided by languages, narrow provincial loyalties and political barriers should be united in spirit, in peace and the love of God.

> "Then my father went to the East.
> He visited various places of pilgrimage."[10]
> Guru Gobind Singh: *Bachilar Natak*: *Apni Katha.*

Elaborate plans and arrangements were made as Guru Tegh Bahadur had decided to take his wife and mother with him.[11] His wife had participated in his *tapasya* (Life of Elected Silence) and now she must participate in his prophetic mission. A true prophet is not an unsocial lonely recluse. He is a symbol of a living existential world and not the world of men only. Woman the mother, and woman the partner in life must share the burden and the responsibilities as well as the fruit and glory of creative life. All activities of Guru Tegh Bahadur were unthinkable without his mother, his wife and his enlightened men and women disciples by his side.

Bhai Dayal Das, as the House Hold Minister, was to look after the comforts and requirements of the ladies in the moving camp of Guru Tegh Bahadur.[11] His second brother

Bhai Jetha remained at Anandpur to look after the completion of the city under construction. His third brother Bhai Mani Ram (Mani Singh) left for his home town Khairpur (Alipur) near Multan.[12] Diwan Mati Das, the Guru's Prime Minister was in overall command of the moving durbar. His brother Sati Das was the chief scribe and interpreter. Being a great Persian scholar, he translated the sermons and hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur for the benefit of those Muslim visitors who could not properly understand Punjabi or Hindi.[13] Kirpal Chand was the treasurer and camp organiser. There were about twenty more excellent administrators assigned different duties. The whole tour was financed by the *Sangat* of Allahabad (Prayag), Benaras, Patna and Dacca. Dacca being the richest centre made the largest contribution. A representative from each major centre was with the Guru's camp.

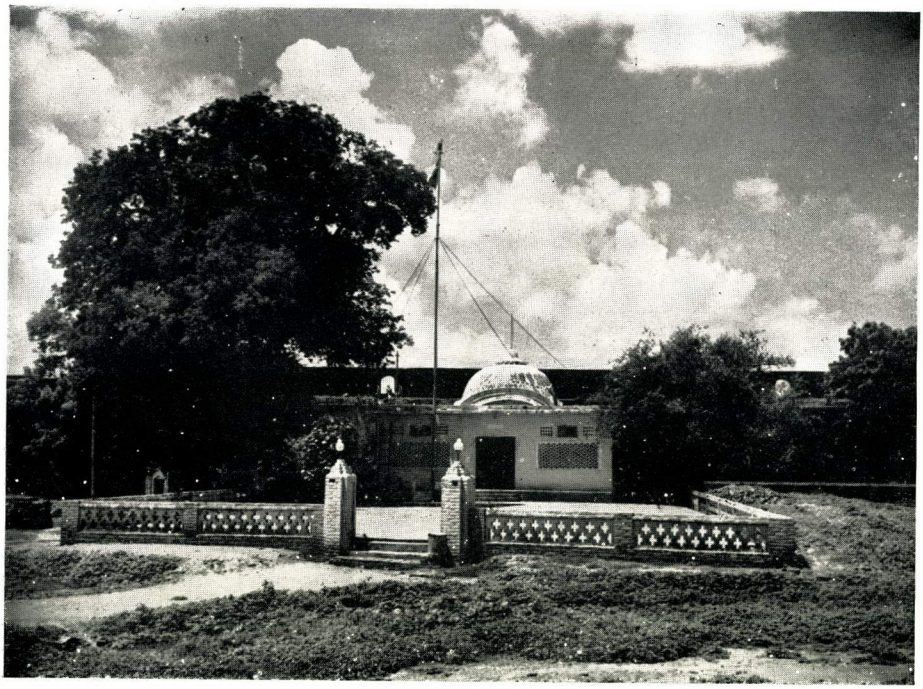
Guru Tegh Bahadur left Anandpur near about August 1665 A.D.[14] About ten prominent Sikhs were left in charge of Anandpur. Guru Tegh Bahadur and his ministers moved on horseback, the ladies in chariots, the luggage on bullocks and carts. Well equipped tents were a part of the camp equipment and throughout the journey Guruji and his entourage generally rested in their own camps and not in way side inns or rest houses.[15]

The first camp was pitched at a village three miles from Kiratpur.[16] Guru Tegh Bahadur was deeply moved by the pitiable plight of a deserted village near his camp. There was great scarcity of drinking water. Rains had destroyed the crops and mud houses of many people. The poor villagers, though so hard working and virtuous were on the verge of starvation. Guru Tegh Bahadur immediately ordered his treasurer to give all the money he had to relieve the suffering of the people.[17] He asked one of his trusted disciples to undertake the resettlement of the destitute and to reconstruct the whole village. His first and foremost task was to build a well and to give money to the homeless to build their houses.[18] A free kitchen was started, in which people of all castes and creeds could take their meals. He further gave hope and courage to the hardworking people of this village saying: "Whoever causes any trouble to you will perish.[19]

There was a very large gathering of men and women

from the neighbouring villages. Sikh chroniclers have recorded the following sermon delivered by the Master when someone asked: "Lord, what shall we do to overcome temptations and walk in the ways of God ? What penance should we perform to break through the barriers of desires ?" Spoke Guru Tegh Bahadur : "Listen my disciples, human existence is a precious pearl of life. All efforts should be made to preserve its purity and its inherent glory. Never lead a life of purely materialistic pursuits. For the sake of the healthy living and welfare of your family, work honestly and earn your bread by the sweat of your brow. In all your work and professional labour be sinless and pure. Remember God every moment of your life.[20] This is not an age for self-mortifying penances to seek personal occult powers. Service of humanity is the highest austerity and the noblest penance. Selfless service is the essence of religion. It is the nature of man's mind to wander away like flowing water and be out of control. The mind should be steadily and patiently curbed and controlled. Accept sorrow and joy as the will of God, and never blame God for your suffering. Accept everything with calm forbearance. By accepting everything as the will of God we negate our ego and fix our mind in the divine Ground. Desire nothing but union with God and in this spiritual effort you will find once for all the efflorescence of love. This is the essence of Sikhism. This is the path of truth "[21]

Guru Tegh Bahadur passed through Rupar and camped in a large garden at Saifabad,[22] a city founded by Nawab Saifuddin, said to be holding a mansab of 5000 rank. Both the Nawab and his Begum were known to be religious, devout, liberal and extremely charitable. As soon as they came to know that Guru Hargobind's son Guru Tegh Bahadur had camped in their garden, their joy knew no bounds. The Nawab came to the Guru with gifts, dry fruit and other offerings and bowing reverentially said: "Blessed is my garden Master, blessed is the city and blessed am I that thou hast been gracious enough to come here and sanctify the place with thy presence." "We have come here friend Saifuddin, because your pure and noble soul attracted us. It is joy to rest in the garden of a pure souled man of God. You entertain the love and fear of God in your heart. God's grace



Saif-ud-din's Garden at Saifabad



Saif-ud-din's Mosque and fort

shall be on thee and thy descendants." Said Guru Tegh Bahadur.[23]

"Not in the garden, Master not in the garden must thou spend the night," said Saifuddin in utter humility and love, "My house, my mansions are thine; everything in them is thine. Honour me by sojourning in my humble dwelling.[24] The Begum Sahiba would be most happy to entertain divine Mother. Deeply moved by the sincerity and devotion of Saifuddin, the Guru readily agreed. When Guruji mounted his horse, Saifuddin himself held the reins, as a mark of profound respect and reverence for the Guru. While the Guru was riding the horse, he walked on foot, as an act of piety, and conducted the Guru to his palatial mansion which was not far away from the garden. Similar courtesy was shown to Mata Gujari, and Mata Nanaki, who were carried in palinquins (*palkis*).[25] When Guru Tegh Bahadur entered the gate, a peace shedding mansion attracted his attention, and he moved towards it. "That is the House of God (*mosque*) Guruji," said Saifuddin, "Your place is on this side."[26] "This House of God," said Guru Tegh Bahadur, "is as beautiful and enchanting as the Man of God who built it."

Saifuddin conducted Guruji inside his newly built mansion, and after seating him on a specially prepared couch, he offered gold coins, and some precious articles, and bowed in reverence. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave him a *siropao* (robe of honour). Saifuddin's wife received Holy Mother Nanaki and Mata Gujari with profound respect and offered them brocade, gold ornaments, and jewels.[27] Guru Tegh Bahadur asked Saifuddin, what made him build his new house in the form of a fortress. Saifuddin explained, "I one day saw a wolf attacking a sheep which was trying to protect her young lambs, in this place. The sheep heroically fought the wolf, and compelled it to flee. I had the impression that this place was unconquerable. So I built a house looking like a fortress.[28]

Such was the devotion of Saifuddin that Guru Tegh Bahadur stayed with him for nearly a fortnight. As he had to undertake a long journey, he explained to Saifuddin, that as the rains had ended, he must depart, as many people were expecting him in other large cities of the country. Saifuddin offered to the Guru a fine horse, which he wanted the Guru to

ride himself, costly utensils for the *langar* (free kitchen), excellent tents, a chariot for Mata Gujari, and camels for carrying loads of the convoy.[29] Deeply touched by his spirit of dedication Guru Tegh Bahadur embraced him, and blessed him. It was the embrace of Sikhism and Islam at its best, symbolising, that whenever and wherever both these virile faiths shine, in their pristine purity and glory, they will be interlocked in an embrace of love, co-operation, and unity; and they will feel and inspire the essential unity of mankind in the Spirit of one God. With tears in his eyes Saifuddin asked: "Lord of both the worlds, when shall I see thee again? Every day and every moment of my life I shall be waiting for that blessed hour, when I may again feel the presence of a prophet in my home, and within myself?"[30] "In life and death we shall be never separated spiritually. But even on the earthly plane, your sincere love and noble soul will impel me to come again and again,"[31] said Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur had planned to visit the places of pilgrimage. The first place of pilgrimage he aimed at making was to Kurukshetra, where a large gathering was expected on the day of a solar eclipse.[32] On the way to Kurukshetra he stopped at Kainthal. He camped outside the city, where a poor carpenter who had been anxiously waiting for the Guru met him, and invited him to his humble dwelling. He informed him that there were only three Sikhs in the city; two others besides him were Banyas (shopkeepers).[33] As the high way robbers looted everyone, there was fear of attack by some gangsters. So he begged the Guru to spend the night in his house. Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly said, that he was not afraid of any robbers and decoits. He would spend the night there, and visit the carpenter's house the next day.[34] The carpenter then asked Guru Tegh Bahadur :[11] "What are the most auspicious days which the Sikhs should specially celebrate?" Guru Tegh Bahadur replied: "The days of worshipping and paying homage to the eternal Guru are as follows: *firstly Baisakhi*, th Neew Year day; *secondly Diwali*, (the festival of illumination); *thirdly* the *Sankranti* of the month *Magh*. There are two auspicious days connected with the life of Guru Nanak: his birth-day which falls on *Kartik Puranmashi* (October-November), and his ascension day, which falls on *Asu Vadi* 10. But remember whenever

and wherever the *Sadh Sangat* meets and prays together, it is an auspicious day. The Guru and the *Sangat* are one in spirit."[35]

The carpenter then informed the Guru that the next day was the ascension day of Guru Nanak, and he desired the Guru and the *Sangat* to celebrate it at his residence in Kainthal. Guru Tegh Bahadur readily accepted the invitation. Mata Gujari was received by the carpenter's wife. The carpenter spent all his fortune in entertaining the *Sangat*. Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest performed the congregational prayers. The carpenter then offered the little money he had to the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur blessed the carpenter saying, "Your devotion reflects the true spirit of Sikhism. Your home will be the temple of God in future. The seekers of God will chant His praise here." The carpenter's house became a temple of God, and it still is.[36]

From Kainthal the Guru's camp moved on to Pehowa, Barna and Karan Kheda by stages till it reached Thanesar (Kurukshetra). At Pehowa he visited the shrines built by the Sikhs, to commemorate the visits of Guru Nanak, Guru Hargobind and Guru Hari Rai. At Barna, a Sikh peasant serving the Guru said, "Sir, the Revenue Officer has come to measure land and fix the taxes? May I please be permitted to go and get some concession in taxes." Guru Tegh Bahadur assured him that God will help him and because he was selflessly serving the people, the assessment of the taxes on his land would be quite adequate."

When later the Revenue Officer reached Barna he asked the Sikh peasant how much land he had. The peasant frankly stated he had 125 *bighas* of land. "But every time I measured the land, said the Revenue Officer, "I found it to be, only 25 *bighas*. My assessment is on 25 *bighas* only." What is this strange thing that has happened?" The Sikh peasant then told him that the Guru had assured him that the assessment would be adequate. The Revenue Officer met the Guru and asked him the explanation of this mysterious happening. Guru Tegh Bahadur said: "The letters on the seal are inverted, but when you fix the seal with the help of ink, the letters appear straight. Similarly, a Sikh who bows and dedicates himself to the Guru, finds himself pro-

tected by the unseen Hand of God from exploitation, error, and harm."[37]

"Give me instruction, my Lord," said the Officer, so that I and my family may live in peace and prosperity. "Give up smoking and the use of tobacco" said the Guru. Lead an honest and charitable life. Share whatever you have with those who are in need. Serve the saints and learn humility and imbibe the devotion to God from them.[38] For some generations this man's descendants led a pious life but towards the end of the eighteenth century they fell into evil ways, and started smoking and drinking. Kavi Santokh Singh, the eminent historian, guided them to the right path and under his moral and spiritual influence the whole family was baptised into the Khalsa Holy Order.[38]

Guru Tegh Bahadur's camp then moved on to Kurukshetra, where there were already three Sikh shrines commemorating the visits to the historic city of Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Das and Guru Har Gobind. The city was full of monks, yogis, Brahmins, hermits, and anchorites. Devotees from all parts of India had come to seek solace and enlightenment. The Hindu conception of a prophet had now come down to be a man who had no family ties with the world and who begged his food. But into the historic city of Kurukshetra stepped a strange prophet, who was riding a white horse, wearing a sword, carrying bow and arrows, and had been hunting wild animals even on his journey to Kurukshetra.[39] He was married, and moved about with his family and disciples. The Brahmins were upset, but his sermons of illuminating wisdom silenced them, and awakened them to the light of truth. The *yogis* were fidgety, but his discourses on the *Sahajya yoga* of Sikhism, and the philosophy of the divine Word opened a new vista for their spiritual vision. For three days a free kitchen remained open for all. Whatever was offered to the Guru by the devotees was distributed among the needy. Guru Tegh Bahadur then paid homage to the shrines of Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Das, and Guru Hargobind. Food and clothes were distributed in all these three places. The Brahmins, says a chronicler, asked for a special gift. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave them a *Hukamnama* (a letter of blessing) engraved on a copper plate.[40]

After leaving Kurukshetra Guru Tegh Bahadur camped

at a place now known as Banibadarpur. There was a cluster of trees under which the Guru's entourage pitched their camp. A peasant from this place complained that there was great scarcity of water, and he had very little land. Finding him very hardworking and pious, Guru Tegh Bahadur gave him a bag full of money (known in old Punjabi as *badar*) with which the farmer bought land and constructed a well, and built a temple to commemorate the visit of the Guru. The place was known as Banipur. After the Guru's gift of a bag full of money to develop that area, it came to be known as Banibadarpur.[41]

From here Guru Tegh Bahadur went to a place named Sudhail, on the banks of the Jamuna. From here he moved on to Kadamanakpur. In this place lived a very pious Vaishnava, named Maluk Das.[42] At first, Maluk Das was very anxious to meet the successor of Guru Nanak, but when he came to know that Guru Tegh Bahadur wore arms, and indulged in such sports as hunting, and allowed his disciples to take meat, his vegetarian tendencies, and strong Vaishnava sentiments created some doubt about the holiness and spirituality of the Guru. In his subconscious mind he felt impelled to go. But the thought of a prophet with a sword, bow and arrow, and holy men eating meat was too repulsive to his Vaishnava sentiments. Against the temptation of being impelled to go, he closed the doors, and started repeating the name of Lord Krishna, in front of the idol of his god. As he concentrated on the image of Lord Krishna, he reflected on the historical Krishna also. The image of Krishna, the Flute player, at once changed into Krishna, the warrior prophet, standing with a bow and arrows, and a sword in his hand. So the thought came to him that Guru Tegh Bahdur could also be a Saviour with the sword.[43] He had concentrated too much on the romantic image of Krishna. After his prayers he made a formal offering of food to his god. It was pure vegetarian food, the only food fit for gods and saints. He kept it covered with a piece of cloth before the idol, a ceremonial way of offering food. When he uncovered the food, he saw to his dismay and shocking surprise a dish of meat among other dishes.[44] Was it a vision or a dream? He could not understand it. Do the gods accept meat also? Is it a food suitable for holy men ? The thought of Guru

Tegh Bahadur came to him again and he reflected "If he is as great as Krishna let him divine my inner desire to see him. Krishna is said to have gone to his devotees wherever he was remembered. Cannot Guru Tegh Bahadur come to me, when he is already in the city?" Such were the confused thoughts of Maluk Das when there was a knock at the door. When he opened the door he saw Guru Tegh Bahadur standing there. "Forgive me Master, how greatly I have sinned in my vanity of vegetarianism. And yet, O Saviour thou hast forgiven me, and come all the way to save me from getting lost in darkness. Inscrutable are thy ways, Lord. Forgive me all the sinful thoughts I have been having in my troubled soul. How could a petty creature like me understand thee?"[45] According to one historical record Maluk Das was over a hundred years old and Guru Tegh Bahadur sent a palanquin (*palki*) for him to be brought to his Camp-durbar with respect and due reverence.[46] Maluk Das begged the Guru to leave his wooden slippers with him as a gift which could remind him every moment of his lotus feet. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave him a Book of Hymns and wooden slippers which have been preserved in the historical temple.[47]

Camping after every twelve to fifteen miles journey, Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Delhi.[48] He was received with great enthusiasm by the Sikhs of Delhi, the leading among whom was Lakhi Rai, a Yadav *Kshatriya* of the Badhtiya clan. With him were his eight brave sons: Naghayia, Hema, Hadi, Situ, Pundara, Bakhshi, Bala and Jawahar.[49] Lakhi Rai's wife, Paran Devi, received Holy Mother Nanaki and Mata Gujari. The wives of Raja Ram Singh and Raja Jai Singh came to pay homage to the Guru and Mataji. Here Guru Tegh Bahadur received the news that the brave Shivaji had surrendered to Raja Jai Singh, who was persuading him to go to Agra and make peace with Aurangzeb. No freedom-loving person was happy at the turn of events. Aurangzeb was at this time at Agra.[50]

After a very brief stay, Guru Tegh Bahadur left Delhi for Mathura, where during two days' sojourn he paid a visit to Vrindaban also. As he did not stop at Vrindaban, there is no historical place commemorating his visit. From Mathura Guruji went to Agra, where there was already a very important Sikh centre built in memory of Guru Nanak's visit to the place. Guru Ram Das and Bhai Gurdas had stayed in Agra



Guru Teg Bahadur's Shrine at Mathura.



Gurdwara Mai Than, Agra

when they were assigned important missions to represent Sikhism in Akbar's court. A devout lady invited Guru Tegh Bahadur to her house where the Guru spent a day or two. Tradition gives the name of this lady as Mai Jassi. Her, house became a shrine and is now known as Mai Than Gurdwara.

From there the Guru and his *entourage* moved on to Etawah, Kanpur, Fatehpur, and reached Allahabad early in January 1966 A.D. Neither history, nor tradition has preserved any anecdote relating to these places, but the places where Guru Tegh Bahadur camped are still preserved as shrines. The historical temples in these large cities, where there are thousands of Sikhs now a days, being located in old localities, are in a very miserable condition. While Sikhs have built imposing new Gurdwaras, and even some saints have erected large Gurdwaras of their own in these cities, not a penny is being spent to maintain these historical shrines. A large section of the public does not even know about their existence.

Allahabad (Pryag) is the place where the Ganges, the Jamuna, and the fabled subterranean Saraswati unite, thereby giving it the name Triveni, 'the triple braid'. It has always been a celebrated place of pilgrimage. There was a suicide tree here, to jump from which and die, was considered an act of piety. Many ignorant people gave their belongings to the Pandas and Brahmins and committed suicide in the hope of jumping down to heaven. Jahangir had this tree uprooted. and wisely put a stop to this folly. Guru Tegh Bahadur camped in a place now called Ahiyapur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was known for his benevolence and charity. The poor, the needy, and the destitute gathered around him for food, clothing, and other gifts, which he freely gave. In the building, which the disciples had prepared for his residence, there was a room set apart for his meditations also, and its sanctity is preserved to this day. Here a great and joyful thing happened which created a stir and thrill in the knowledgeable spheres. Here the Spirit and Light of Guru Gobind Singh descended, and manifested itself by the Will of God, in his mother's womb. The divine Mother Gujari conceived the Son of God. an event which Guru Gobind Singh himself describes thus in his Work "*Apni Katha*: (Autobiography), which forms the

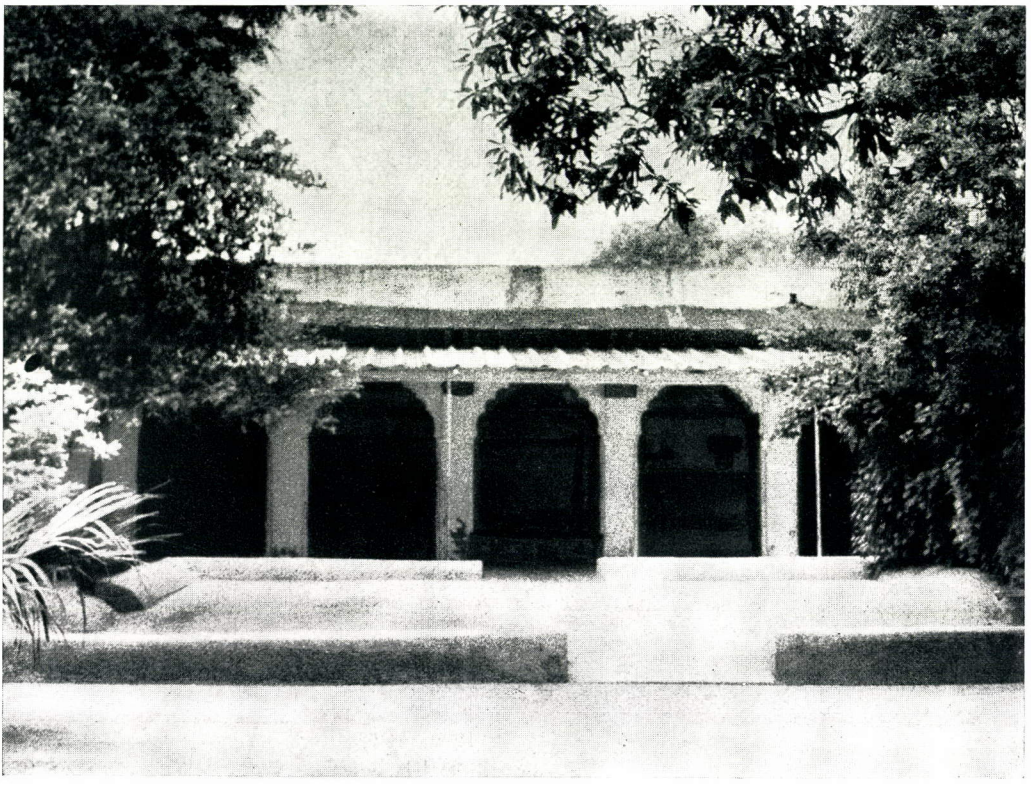
first Book of his great historical work: *"the Bachiter Natak."* Says Guru Gobind Singh: "God brought me into the world as I was doing austerities on the *Sapat-sring* mountain which is near Hemkunt, where I performed such penance that my soul blended with the Supreme Spirit. My father and mother meditated on the Incomprehensible. They both practised the highest Yoga through diverse spiritual efforts. Their devout service in the love of God pleased the Almighty. Then God commanded me to take human form in this world. I was then born into this dark age. My mind was fixed on the lotus feet of God. I did not like to come; God sent me into the world with a mandate saying, I cherished thee as my Son, and send thee to establish the path of Truth. Go into the world, establish virtue and keep the people from evil. When my father came to Triveni (Allahabad) he daily devoted himself to boundless charity, and humanitarian acts of piety. There, at Allahabad, my Light first manifested in human form. (i.e. my Spirit descended into my mother's womb).[51]

The conception of the Son of God was a great event which thrilled everyone. Guru Tegh Bahadur was forty-five, while Mata Gujari was about forty-three years old. They were going to have their first son, a prophet of God, born for saving humanity in answer to decades of prayer, service and meditation, on the Supreme Being. After a stay of one month [52] at Allahabad, Guru Tegh Bahadur moved on the old Grand Trunk road along the southern bank of the Ganges. The place where Guru Tegh Bahadur stayed is known as Gurdwara Pukka Sangat.

The next important place where Guru Tegh Bahadur camped was Mirzapur, where there was a small temple commemorating the visit of Guru Nanak. Four prominent Sikhs, Bhai Bal Chand, Bhai Hari Krishen, Bhai Chatar Bhoj, Bhai Lalu were the missionaries stationed here, who worked under the *masand* of Benares. Guru Tegh Bahadur rested in a garden belonging to a local zamindar, who later on dedicated the whole garden, and all the land attached to it, to the cause of the Guru. Unfortunately, the shrines of Guru Nanak, and Guru Tegh Bahadur have disappeared. Either they were desecrated during some political upheaval, or the buildings collapsed, and were never rebuilt. The place where Guru Tegh Bahadur sat is still clearly marked. The descendant



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Shrine, Kanpur



Gurdwara Pukka Sangat, Allahabad

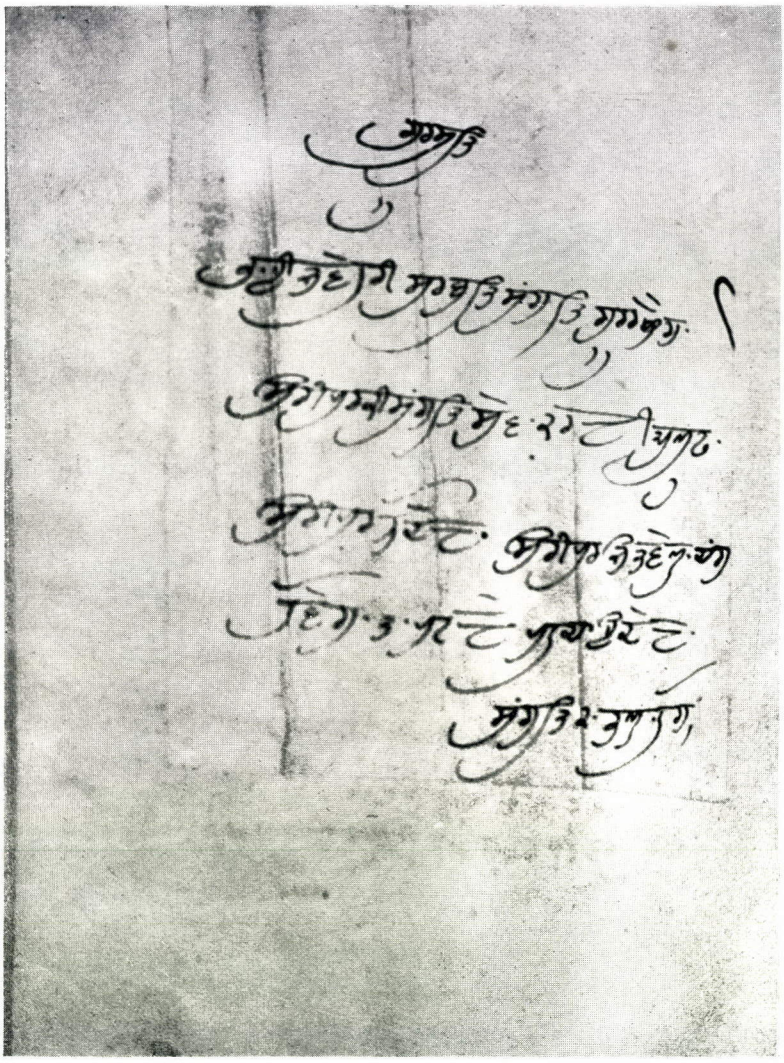
of the *masands* of this place have become the owners of the garden worth two lakhs. The man who claims to be the direct descendant of the *masands* possesses a copy of *Adi Granth* which is quite old. The people of all the neighbouring villages come to pay homage to the place, where Guru Tegh Bahadur pitched his camp. Married couples, and the newly born children are brought here for blessings and grace. After three days stay here, Guru Tegh Bahadur moved on to Benares.

There was already a large religious centre under the *masand* Jawehri Mal commemorating the memory of Guru Nanak's visit to the holy city. A new one had now been built for Guru Tegh Bahadur in the heart of the city. In the labyrinth of streets which link temple to temple, and which in themselves are strewn with shrines, and altars, with different gods, and goddesses in every temple, the Sikh shrines known as the *Sangats* were the only ones where there were no idols and no images. As a matter of fact, Guru Nanak's disciples were vigorous preachers against idolatry, without of course offending any god or goddess. Bhai Gurdas had spent nearly two years in Benares, during which he had written about six hundred poems in high Hindi on Sikh mysticism containing about a hundred poems strongly criticising idolatry. In every verse he presents the worship of gods and goddesses in the light of the true worship of one God. While he deems the life of a worshipper of the One God as ethically pure, as that of a loyal wife loving only her husband, he considers the life of worshippers of many gods and goddesses as immoral, hopeless, and miserable, like that of prostitutes.

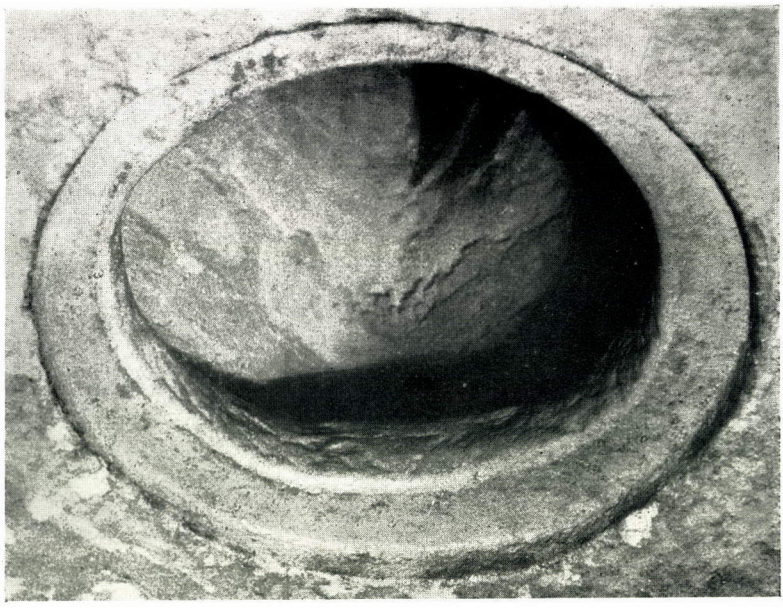
Into this city Guru Tegh Bahadur entered on his white horse named Sri Dhar, a gift of his friend Saiffudin. He was wearing a dark brown dress of Rajput style,[53] still preserved in the holy shrine at Benares. A number of letters of Guru Tegh Bahadur written in his own artistic hand from Patna, Monghyr and Dacca reveal the names of the following prominent Sikhs of Benares, which unfortunately no other available historical document has recorded:—Bhai Jawehri Mal (the Head of the Centre), Bhai Kalyan Mal, Bhai Kirpal Das, Bhai Babu Rai, Bhai Bhikhari, Bhai Maharaj, Bhai Ram Mal, Bhai Bhati Seth, Bhai Jati Mal, Bhai Babu Muni,

Bhai Man Singh, Maharaj Rama Joydyosi ; Bhai Koka Mana, Bhai Bal Krishan, Bhai Sukhdev, Bhai Phagu Shah, Bhai Chatak Mal, Bhai Durga Das, Bhai Ganga Ram, Bhai Raghunath, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Dalpat Das, Bhai Sadanand, Bhai Jai Ram Das and Bhai Ramanand.

With the coming of Guru Tegh Bahadur into the holy city of Benares the whole atmosphere seemed to have been divinely inspired. The devotees from all parts of the country flocked to have a glimpse of the Guru. The pundits and scholars came to know the depth of the Guru's knowledge and spirituality. Benares, as it is even now, was overflowing with the diseased and the infirm. No wonder, a great number of the pilgrims came here to die on the banks of the Ganges. "I have indeed," says Count Hermann Keyserling, "seen more of that which induced Prince Siddhartha once upon a time to leave this world, than ever before." Guru Tegh Bahadur told the Pundits that wasteful logic chopping, and intellectual legerdemain, concerned with the conundrums of narrow metaphysical ideas, quite unrelated to life and the spirit of truth, amounts to ignorance of truth and of God. They should not make religion and philosophy a recondite idiosyncracy, but bring into it the much needed human interest. To the sick and infirm, who came to die, he explained, that human life was precious to the last day. The only death a man must die, is the death in life which gives spiritual rebirth. A free kitchen (*langar*) was opened for all. Clothes were distributed to the naked. Early in the morning one day Jawehri Mal got up and informed the Guru that he was going to bathe in the Ganges, which was about half a mile from there. With a smile on his beaming radiant face, Guru Tegh Bahadur said: "Why should my disciple go to the Ganges, the Ganges should come to this place. Dig any where in this room, and you will find the clear water of the Ganges." For the Sikh, the word of the Guru was the law of God. There lingered one fear in the disciple's mind, that he might have to dig very deep as the wells in the neighbouring buildings were quite deep. But to his surprise he had hardly dug one foot when the crystal clear water of the Ganges emerged out of the square hole. The Ganges came to this disciple. To this day this strange phenomenon can be witnessed. Guru Tegh Bahadur also perhaps wished to symbolically teach his



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Benaras *Sangat,* asking them to look after his ailing horse, Sri Dhar



Spring of the Ganges Water in the Benaras Shrine



Meditation room of Guru Tegh Bahadur in the Benaras Shrine

disciples, that the water in any place where the praise of God is sung is as holy as that of the Ganges.

Guru Tegh Bahadur camped at Benares for about a fortnight. His horse Sri Dhar fell ill. He had to leave it under the care of his disciples. The first letter he wrote from Patna was about his concern about the health of Sri Dhar and the medicine that was to be given to it." "Send Sri Dhar to Patna," he wrote, "as soon as he recovers."[54]

From Benares Guru Tegh Bahadur moved on to Sasaram where there was an important missionary centre under a romantic *masand*, who was addressed by every one as Uncle Phagu Shah. Uncle Phagu Shah had built a very beautiful mansion, with a stately portico, and a large entrance hall. People wondered why he had built such a large building and such a large entrance chamber. He said that he was expecting the Guru to come on horseback, with a large *Sangat* (congregation), and when he came, he should not have the trouble of alighting from his horse, but could enter the mansion on horseback. He had been saying this for many years, and yet the Guru did not come. Now when the news of Guru Tegh Bahadur's arrival at Benares reached Sasaram, everyone felt that the prophetic expectations of Uncle Phagu Shah had come true.[55] Guru Tegh Bahadur stayed with Phagu Shah for a fortnight, and blessed him for his devotion and service.

From Sasaram Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Buddha-Gaya, the holy site of Buddhism which had by then been overpowered by sharp witted intolerant Brahmanism. Yet, in the shadow of the 'Tree of Revelation' reflected the peace and nobility of the great Buddha. There was some affinity between the spirit of the Buddha and that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. They were not what people call born prophets. They became gods among men by their strenuous spiritual effort. They were both born in similar atmosphere; both brooded on the suffering of humanity; and both of them spread the gospel of truth by travelling far and wide. Both had a devoted wife and son. Both taught the people of India the unity of humanity, compassion and charity. But for Buddha, and the Sikh Gurus, Indian culture might not have made such a leap forward during the two critical periods of its history, a fact, which narrow-minded Brahmanism refuses to recognise to this day. Guru Tegh Bahadur paid homage to the shrine

built in memory of Guru Nanak in the place where along with his Muslim rebeck player Mardana he sang for a week or more the songs of the eternal path to Truth, the songs of *Nirvana.* The place where Guru Tegh Bahadur spent a week and silenced the Brahmins, who, in pride of their wisdom, thought that their high birth, external piety, knowledge of the Vedas, could everawe this strange visitor, whom the people called the new prophet has also, become a historical shrine. These actors of wisdom soon realised, that they were face to face with another living Buddha, with a difference. Lord Buddha had moved from kingliness to renunciation, while Guru Tegh Bahadur had moved from renunciation to kingliness. The superhuman creative energy, and inspiration emanating from both manifestations of the most exalted condition of the spirit of man was the same. India falls into the pit of darkness, corrupt life, and mental slavery, when its masses and political leaders fail to recognise this central fact of our history and culture.

From Buddha-Gaya Guru Tegh Bahadur followed the age old route of Buddhist pilgrims to Patna, camping for a day near the ruins of Nalanda, and for three days at Rajgriha. At Rajgriha we have, till this day, two *Sangats* (shrines), one commemorating the visit of Guru Nanak, and the other that of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Towards the end of May 1666 A.D. Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Patna.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

1 jab satgur thirtā gahī aiśvarz bheo bisāl,
Makhan ridai anaṅd hovai pujai gurū kripāl.
Sūraj Prakāsh: *Rās* 11, *Aṅsū* 28.

2 bahut mol ko bar siropāi
karunā sahit gurū te pāe.
ibid.

3 neh bisro urbar ko dījai
eh sevak par karunā kījai
he prabh mujh ko ṅeh bisāro
sevak jān sadā saṁbhāro.
ibid.

4 janam maran tero kat geo
Srī Nānak ko sevak bheo
Satnām simro din rātī
Gurbar pad hovaiṅ cit sāṅtī
man sioṅ milai sadā mil rahai
pun biyog sioṅ kabhuṅ nā lahe.
ibid.

5 caran kamal saṅg liptio tabai
tajai na jāh sīs dhar herio
hāthan sāth palosat gehio
kitak bar mai guru chudāe;
prem basī drig jal dhur āe
bār bār kar baṅdan bhāle
bide bheo cit cāhīt nā cāle.
ibid.

6 murmur herat nīṭh calaṅta.
ibid.

7 Bābā āyā tīrthīṅ, tīrath purab sabhe phir dekhai
ṗūrab dharam bahu karam kar bhāu bhagat bin kite nā lekhe
ṗhekhīṅ prabhū nā pāīaī āp gavāe rūp nā rekhai
gurmukh varn avarn hoe niv calai Gursikh visekhai.
Bhai Gurdas: *Var 1*, p 25

8 jithai Bābā pair dharai pujā āsan thāpan soā.
ibid *Vār* 1, pauḍī 27.

9 pehlāṅ Babe pāyā Bakhsh dar pichon de phir ghāl kamāi
ret ak ahār kar roḍāṅ kī gur karī vichāī
bhārī karī tapasyā baḍe bhāg har sīoṅ ban āī;
Bābā paidhā sac ḳhaṅd nau nidh nām garībī pāī.
Bhai Gurdas *Var* 1, pauḍī 24.

God said to Guru Nanak:
Thou My Son art the Enlightner (*Guru*)
Go reveal My Light to the world.
Guru Nanak meekly replied:
I am Thy slave, Thy humblest servant, Lord;
I am the dust of all Thy creatures.
God repeated His blessings:
Thou art the Guru of all the worlds;
I am in Thee, My Spirit is thy soul and being;
My Will is thy will, My Light is thy torch;
Thou knowest My Law and Justice.
Be the singer of My Love and Power,
He who understands thy greatness My Son
And learns from thee My glory and Wisdom
I will reveal Myself to him.
This is my abiding promise to thee.
Bhai Nand Ltd: *Gaṅjnāmā.*

10 mur pitā pūrab kīyas pyānā
bhāṅt bhāṅt ke tīrath nānā.
Guru Gobind Singh: *Bachiter Nātak* 7./1
Dīn bandhu dyāl sāhib khāg bahādur Rāi
tāme sansār sāgar kīas upāe;
nām lekar tirathān ko cale pūrab dhāe.
Sukha Singh: *Gurbilās pat: 10*

Guru Tegh Bahadur saṅsār sāgar ke tārbe ko ramat kīā.
jo jo Sikh Sādhu premī arād de the tinā kī bhāvnī pūrī

karne ko bahānā tirthān kā kar caran padhāre.
Sākhī pothī: Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[11] This is quite clear from Guru Tegh Bahadur's letters written in his own hand unearthed during the course of research work on this biography. A number of these letters will be quoted in subsequent chapters.

[12] Manīā, Tulsī, Srī Chañd, Naṭhīa Chañdan Rāi
Udā ādīk mil sabhi pahuñce Alīpur āe,
kachuk kāl rehīo Mani Singh pur Alī grām bulañd
Vaisākhi ke divas pai pahuñce purī anañd.
Seva Singh: *Shahid Bilās*, p 58.

[13] Bānī jo Sāhib karan ucār
so Satī Das nit kare farsī akhrāñ me utār.
nis deh Sāhib bānī ucārde jānā
ate Satī Das likh likh rakhan.
Kesar Singh Chiber: *Bañsāvlīnāmā*.

[14] Unfortunately Guru Tegh Bahadur's letters do no bear dates, though we have the dates on the letters of Guru Gobind Singh. But the historical records give us two dates to be quoted in this chapter (see f.n. 35) from which this month is concluded.

[15] This is quite clear from: (1) the letters of Guru Tegh Bahadur, (2) the places where Guru Tegh Bahadur camped in each city is not only distinct from the sites of the highway inns but also from the shrines marking the camping places of Guru Nanak. Almost in every city we have two *Sangats* known as Baḍī Saṅgat and Choti Saṅgat, which are the places where Guru Nanak and Guru Tegh Bahadur camped and preached their sermons.

[16] mañd mañd gamne Gurswamī
sakal ghatāñ ke añtar jāmī
pritham sivar doe kos lagāyo
nar samudāe milan ko āyo.
Sūraj Prakāsh: *Rās* 11, *Añsū* 33.

[17] jetak darab koś meh jānā
kośpatī saṅg bāk bakhānā.
ek das ko pur meh tyāgā,
ais man rehīo badbhāgā,
sagro dhan tis ko tab dīnā.
ibid.

[18] kehio gurū lakh kharac prabīnā.
kūp lagāvo sadan banāvo
kharco pur ke het basāvo.
ibid Rās 11, *Añsū* 33.

[19] pur ko khed deh neh koī
je ko deh rahe neh koī.
ibid.

[20] bho sikho rat tan eh rātan
jim saflai tin kījai jātan

jag dhaṅde me phas na betāvoh
het jīvka hoe nispās
karo kār ko har har jap
man meh simran kī liv rākho
sās na birthā jāi im kaṅkho.
ibid.

[21] ab tap karbe ko neh kāī
jis te upjat sakal bisāl
jo satsaṅgat sev kamāvai
yānte jāno sevā sār
fure sadā man thir na rahaṅdā
sane sane tis ko atkāe
jal pravāh sam man ko ahāi
jite kare tit hī nit bahai
dukh jab ān kī apdī parai
prabhū bhano lakh sir par dharei
jān karam phal tarak na thāne
neh Iśvar par dosī bakhānai.
ibid.

[22] kūṅey ke kināre paṅcbatī smān asthān dekhā tithe hī derā kīā. tis kasbe kā mālak Sarf Din thā. badā nek mard haisī; dil dā sāf haisī; tis ne bhī sunyā jo Tegh Bahādur Sāhib Bāgh bīc utre haiṅ. baḍā khus hoyā, bāge bic māvai nāhī; usī vakht lai karke mevioṅ kī dālian, laṅgar nū rast maṅgvāī āp Gurūjī nū āe mathā tekiā; kehan lagā: Gurujī aj merā janam saflā huā.
Sākhi Pothī: Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Gobind Singh, p 2.

[23] Gurūjī bacan kītā: tusāṅ sāhib ko cit kīta hai, tusāde ikī kulāṅ kā janam safal kīā.
ibid. p 3

[24] bacan kahā "Gurūjī, āp aṅdar caran pāvo, dhām pavitar karo"
ibid.

[25] Gurūjī tis kā prem dekh ke caḍhe ghoḍe par, Sarafdīn (Saifuddin) ne rakāb laī; mātājī dole bic baiṭhe, Saraf Din (Saifuddin) pairīṅ calyā Gurūjī de piche piche.
ibid.

[26] darvāje vaḍdiāṅ Gurūjī ne mehjat dekhī; tau Saraf Din kaha "Gurūjī āp kā asṭhān āge hai; eh Khudā ka ghar hai."
ibid.

[27] Gurūjī aṅdar ān baiṭhe; Saraf Dīn muhrāṅ bheta an dharīāṅ, pośāk rakhī, mathā tekyā, tis kī Samānī ne Matā Gujrījī ko mathā tekyā, bhūkhan bastar dīe anik prakār ke.
ibid.

[28] ethe ik bheḍ prasūtī, tis no doe bhagyāḍ pāe maran, tīs mār na khādi, hār ke chad gāe, mai is karke sarāe pāī jo ajīt jagā jānke.
ibid.

[29] Gurūjī ke laṅgar ko bhāṅde dīe, tambū chayāvān dīā; bhār

brādrī ko saśtar dīe, asvārī ko vadā umda ghoḍa dīa, Mātājī kī asvārī ko rath dīā.

ibid p 4-5

[30] jī garīb nivāj jī, āp kī asvārī kī hamāre ko zāhar hovai, Garībnivāj jī pher darśan denā.

ibid.

[31] āp ke rehane kar mainū vadā anaňd sī; Gurūjī bacan kītā ; Sāhib nū hardam yād rakhnā, sādh fakirāň, kī sevā, handgī karnī, man nīvaň rakhnā, tusanū sadā anaňd rahegā.

ibid.

Guru Tegh Bahadur met Saifuddin about four times. This was the first meeting. His second meeting took place when he returned from the East. His third meeting took place when he went for his Malwa tour. His fourth and last meeting took place when he went to Delhi for Martyrdom. *Sakhi Pothī* has recorded the first meeting, while *Sūraj Prakāsh* has recorded the last one. Saiffuddin continued to exchange letters with Guru Tegh Bahādur even when he was on Far Eastern tour.

[32] *Sūraj Prakāsh*, and other historians who have followed it uncritically, have been tempted to place the Malwa tour of Guru Tegh Bahādur, just before he left for Patna and Dacca. This has been done under the impression that during the Malwa tour Guru Tegh Bahādur visited only about five or six places. My researches have shown that Guru Tegh Bahādur visited nearly ninety far flung places in the forest regions of Malwa a part of which was known as Bangar desh. This error was first created by the *Sākhī Pothī*. But even in the *Sakhī Pothī* it is quite clear that Mata Gujari accompanied Guruji to those places which fall on his way to Kurukshetra, the first important place of pilgrimage, while Gurujī is alone with a few disciples during his Malwa tour. The Malwa tour would have taken at least six months and it in inconceivable that Guru Tegh Bahadur took Mata Gujari and Holy Mother Nanaki to the forest regions of Malwa. Guru Gobind Singh clearly states that Guru Tegh Bahadur went to the Eastern places of pilgrimages first. There was no place of pilgrimage in Malwa and even Guru Nanak had not visited this region. Guru Tegh Bahadur was the first Guru to visit most of the places in this backward area.

[33] Kaiňthal mai Sikh ke ghar tīn,
ik tikhān hai hmarī jāt,
do ghar baňkan ke bikhyāt.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aňsū* 43

[34] tāň ik Sikh takhnetā thī, on ākhyā: Gurūjī mere ghar calo, bāhar dhāḍāň paiňdyāň han ; Gurūjī bacan kītā, sānū nahī pain gīāň.

Sākhī Pothī: Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[35] benetī kītī; "jī garib nivāj, Guru kā purb kehḍā hai ji ?

Gurujī kehyā: prithmai ta *Baisakhī* Gurū pūjā kā din hai. dūjā Diwāli Gurū pūja ka din hai; *Sangrāñd* Māgh dī; *Purnīmā, dasvīñ* Guru Nānak jī ka purb hai; jis din Sādh Saṅgat kā joḍ mel hovai, os din sadīv hī gurpurb hai, Gurū te saṅgat ek rūp hai, ot pot kuch bhed nāhī.

ibid p 34

This historical record *Sākhī Pothī* is much older than *Sūraj Prakāsh*, and *Mehmā Prakāsh* and many copies of the *Janam Sākhīs*. It clearly states two facts: (1) Guru Nanak's birthday is on *Kārtik Pūranmāshī* and not Baisākh Sudī 3; (2) Gurpurbs, or the Birthday of Guru Nanak and other auspicious days were celebrated by the community even during the life time of the Gurus. Karam Singh historian and a few others who uncritically accepted his views have been loudly saying for the past few decades that Gurpurbs, particularly Guru Nanak's Birthday was never celebrated on *Kārtik Pūranmāshī*. They have even concocted a story that Guru Nanak's birthday began to be celebrated on *Kārtik Pūranmāshī* only by the Singh Sabha. This historical record proves this assertion to be incorrect.

[36] Gurūjī kehyā: dhan Sikhī, ethe Sikhī dā nivās hou, Kathā Kīrtan hou sadā.

Sākhī Pothī: Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur, p 34.

[37] mohar de akhar puṭhe hoṅde hain, jadoṅ koḍī karke lāīdī hai, sidhe hoe jāṅde hain; tīsī tarāṅ Sikh jadoṅ Guru nū mathā tekdā hai, us dā bhī bhāg ughaḍ auṅdā hai.

Sākhī Pothī: ibid. p 37

[38] gaṅdādhūm baṅs te tyāgo
atī gilān is te dhar bhāgo;
sikh saṅtan sevā mai lāgo,
ācoh vaṅd kar krit anurāgo
duh lokan mai Gurū sahāī,
dukh te de kar hāth bacāī.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsu* 45

[38*] khaṅde ko amrit pilāyāo
pun kich jānyo gayo nā soe.

ibid.

[39] mrigan bihaṅgan ke gan māre
āe khelat paṅth sikāre,
amikh kar kat sabh līn
nij bājī saṅg baṅdhan kīn
im bahu subhat saṅg Gur calat
karat akher mrigan ko bhālat.

ibid Aṅsu 47

[40] prithmai Sidh Batī mathā tekyā Gurū Nānakjī ke asthān; pher Gurū Hargobindjī ke asthān mathā tekyā, pher sarbat nū parsād chakāyā; Brahminā ne ākhyā: Maharajjī, aisā dān devo sādā put potā bhī khāe: Gurūjī ne Hukamnāma ditā tāme de patar ute lakhāeke.

Sākhī Pothī: Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

41 zilā Karnāl, Tehsīl Thanesar, Thānā Lādvā vic is nam de do piṅdneḍe han ; ināṅ de vickār Gurū Tegh Bahādurjī virāje ; pehlāṅ is dā nām Banī sī ate īk zamiṅdār nū dhān dā (badrā : thailā) deke khūh ate bāg lāon dā hukam dītā.

Kahan Singh: *Mahān Kosh.*

The place is fifteen miles from Kurukshetra.

ihāṅ brich ar kūp lagāvo
sadā bart chudtān mukh pāvo
karo nā lobh khacadeh sāro
tum sukh pāvo janam sudhāro.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Ansu* 45.

42 Sādhū Malūk Dās jīs nāe,
baseh tahāṅ sū Baisno dhārm
kart sadā hī ache karm.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsu* 47

43 pun Srī Krishan bhāe avtār
lilā kīnas anīk prakār.
yaṅte lakhyāt hai eh ādi
bīr saśtar dhar kī su maryād
nai anīt na kīnī koe, mai mūrakh hoe tarkī joe.

ibid.

44 thākur rūp su āmikh khāt
tinoh bhog āmīkh ko lāyo
man mere ko bharam mītāyo.

ibid.

45 mūlka pāpī peḍhko bhagat nājānī toh
bhagat likhī thī avar ko prabh dhokhe de moh.

ibid.

46 bheo arūḍh palkī māh
kuch cele le kar saṅg vāh
anaṅd magan sehat badyāī
āe nikat utryo sehsāi.

ibid.

47 pher Kaḍemānākpur Jamuna tīre jā ṭhehre ; ethe ik Malūk Dās bairāgī sādhū ne yogābhyas de bal nāl deḍh sau baras dī deh Gurū ke darśan vāste rakhī hoi sī, Gurūsāhib toṅ updeś lai ke jiwan mukt hoyā. Guru Sahib de pauey (khaḍāvāṅ) te ik pothi darsan puja vāste nisānī rakh laī sī jo hun tak othe hai.

Gyan Singh : *Tawārikh Guru Khālsā,* p 269

48 dās ikdas kai dwādas kos
derā karat jāt hati dos.

Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 11 *Aṅsū* 46

49 dhan Pārāṅ Deī, put janmyā Nagāhyīā
aṭhoṅ bete akāṭhe hoe kāj karan kī bārā
Naghāiyā, Hemā Hadī āe, āyā Sītū te Pundārā
Bakhshī Bālā, Jawāhār āe, baṅdh barch kamar katārā.

Bhat Keso Dutt: *Bhat Vahī Jado baṅsi Baḍhtiān kī.*

50 On 11 June at 9 O'clock in the morning (1665 A.D.) while

Jai Singh was holding his court in his tent at the foot of Purandar, Shivaji came to him and was welcomed. Upto midnight the two sides higgled for terms of a permanent peace.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb* p 211

[51] jab hi jāt tribenī bhae
pun dān din karat bitae,
tahīn prakāś hamārā bheo.

Guru Gobind Singh:
Bachiter Nātak, Apnī Kathā, Chap: 7: 2, 3.

[52] ik mahinā othe rahe; derā śehar vic rakhyā, jithe hun Gurdwarā Pakī Saňgat banī hoī hai.

Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 269.

[53] The dress is still preserved at Benaras. Its colour is brown. The measurements of the dress indicate that Guru Tegh Bahadur was of middle height, and had a wiry, smart body.

[54] "Gurū Sat: Bhai Jawehri;
sarbat saňgat Guru rakhe gā; Srī Dhar kī Saňgat sevā karnī; alūfā Srī Dhar nū denā; Srī Dhar jit velā caňgā hove gā tāň Patne pahuňcāe denā. saňgat kā bhalā hogā.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Letter to Benaras Saňgat.*

[55] *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 55.

CHAPTER XVI

PATNA TO DACCA

KING Ajatasutra's capital was Rajgriha, which did not serve as an efficient base of operation against his enemy, the Lachchavi Republic. He had to construct a new base, a fort at a convenient site on the river, and thus was laid the foundation of the new capital, which was first named Kusumpura, or Kusumvaya, and then named Pataliputra. The Greeks called it Palibothra. It is now known as Patna.[1]

The city was first contructed under the supervision of Ajatasutra's Chief Ministers named, Sunidha, and Vassakara. When the construction of this city, built mainly for war and aggressive designs on neighbours was complete, the two ministers invited the prophet of peace and non-violence, Lord Buddha, for dinner so that the great Master might be the first to step into it. They named the gate, through which the Buddha went out of the city, as the *Gotama-gate,* and the *ghat* (landing), from which he was ferried across the Ganges, was commemorated as the *Gotama-ghat.* It was on this unique occasion that the Buddha is said to have made his pregnant prophecy that Patilputra would one day grow to be the chief city of Aryan descent, and the centre of trade and economic prosperity.[2]

Pataliputra (Patna) was also the capital of Chandragupta's vast empire. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in Chandragupta's court, reports that the city was built at the confluence of the two rivers, the Ganges, and the Son. It was nine-and-half miles long and a mile-and-a-half broad, protected by a moat, and further protected by a massive timber palisade. It had 64 gates, 570 towers, and as protection against floods, the whole city was built of wood. From the ancient times to the seventeenth century, Patna was famous for art treasures, courtesans, goldsmiths, terra-cotta and artistic pottery.[3]

The city to this day has the unique distinction of being honoured by the holy presence and foot-prints of the Buddha, Guru Nanak, and Guru Tegh Bahadur, and of being the birthplace of Guru Gobind Singh. When Guru Tegh Bahadur



Guru Gobind Singh at the age of 10
(*Original painting with the author*)



Takhat Harimandir, Patna Sahib ; Birth Place of Guru Gobind Singh

arrived, the East and West had already started mingling in Patna, and other large cities. The Holland company had a house, by reason of their trade in Saltpetre. Tavernier, the famous European traveller, had just passed through Patna on his way to Dacca.[4] English factories had also been already established at Lahore, Hoshiarpur, Patna and Dacca.

It was at Patna that Guru Tegh Bahadur received the news of some of the major political happenings in the country. Shah Jahan was dead. A treaty of peace had been signed at Purandar in June 1665 A.D., according to which Shivaji agreed to hand over twenty-three of his forts, and to write a letter to the Emperor, pleading for his favour. By the same postal messenger Jai Singh had sent a secret letter to Aurangzeb, suggesting a cordial reply to Shivaji's letter. Such chivalry was not however, native to Aurangzeb. Frigidly he replied to Shivaji "Your letter couched in humble strain has been received by Us. It is agreeable to note that you crave for pardon for your conduct, and that you repent for your past deeds. Our reply is that your behaviour has been so base that it deserves no forgiveness. Nevertheless, at Raja Jai Singh's intercession, We extend to you a general pardon." It was hardly a tone to turn a defeated opponent into an enthusiastic supporter. However Shivaji carried out the terms of the treaty with Jai Singh.[4] Most probably at the suggestion of Raja Jai Singh again, Aurangzeb wrote another letter, phrased in a very different language. "You are at present serving in our Imperial Camp. In recognition of your services a handsome dress, and a pretty jewelled sword are sent to you herewith. We have a high opinion of you. Therefore We desire you to come here quickly and without loss of time. When We grant you audience We shall receive you with great hospitality and soon grant you leave to return."[5]

In this letter the shrewd Shivaji scented a tiger's caress. Shivaji diffidently suggested that perhaps the invitation was a trap. Jai Singh at once offered his own son, Ram Singh, who had shyly admired the Maratha ever since his arrival in the Imperial Camp; he supported his father's offer, delighted at the prospect of close companionship with Shivaji. Shivaji began his journey to North India on March 5, 1666 A.D., and had reached the outskirts of Agra on 9th May, where the Emperor was holding Court.[6]

The visit was not a success. Aurangzeb clearly did not understand the man he was to deal with, and showed a curious lack of political sagacity in his reception of the Maratha. No prince or General in all India could render the Emperor such aid in his designs against the Deccan kingdom as the rude highlander who had at last come to his feet. A good many points might well be stretched to secure so valuable an ally. But Aurangzeb was a bigot inclined to be fastidous in somethings. He could not forget that Shivaji was according to him, a fanatical Hindu, and a vulgar brigand to boot. He set himself the task of showing the Maratha his real place, and far from recognising him as a Viceroy of the Deccan, let him stand unnoticed among third rank officers in the splendid assembly, that daily gathered before the throne in the great Audience Hall. Deeply affronted, pale and sick, with shame, and fury, Shivaji quitted the presence without taking ceremonial leave.[7] According to another account Shivaji fell down in a swoon. There was a stir among the courtiers. The Emperor asked what the matter was. Ram Singh diplomatically replied : "The tiger is a wild beast of the forest. He feels oppressed by the heat in a place like this, and has been taken ill". He also apologised for the Raja's rude conduct saying that he was a Deccani unfamiliar with courts, and polished manners.[8] Raja Ram Singh was ordered to lodge him in the Jaipur House, outside the city walls, and be responsible for his custody. Jai Singh was placed in a dilemma by this unexpected result of Shivaji's visit to the court. He continued to write to Ram Singh, to see to it that Shivaji's life was safe, and the solemn assurances of the Rajput father and son remained inviolate.[9]

On August 19, 1666 A.D. Shivaji escaped. Two months after Guru Tegh Bahadur left Patna he was at Rajgriha. It was Ram Singh who broke the news to Aurangazeb. The Emperor suspected that Shivaji had fled with the connivance of Ram Singh. The Rajput prince was punished, first by being forbidden entry into the court, and then by being deprived of his rank and pay.[10]

The news of Shivaji's escape delighted everyone. The news of Raja Ram Singh's disgrace and arrest was deeply felt in the Guru's household. The kindness and support of

Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh to the cause of Guru Hari Krishen had not been forgotten. Many ministers of Guru Tegh Bahadur like Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das, and Bhai Gurditta, the High Priest, knew the Rajput Rajas personally.[11].

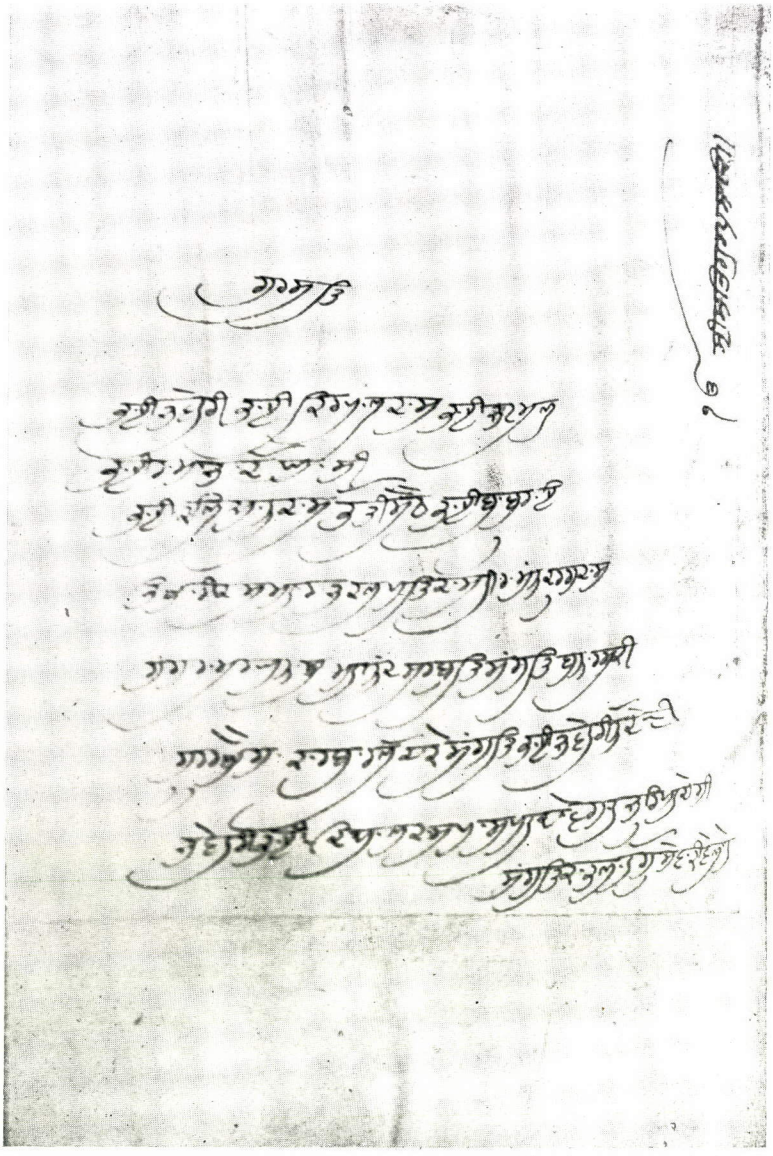
Ever since Guru Nanak's visit to Patna and about four months stay there, the light of the Sikh faith had been kept burning by a successive band of missionaries. The heads of the diocese which was also the capital of the *Suba* (State), were *masand* Ram Rai and Bhai Durbari. They made an excellent arrangement for the stay of Guru Tegh Bahadur and his family. A devout lady, who is addressed as Bebe Paidi Bai in Guru Tegh Bahadur's letters looked after Holy Mother Nanaki, Mata Gujari who was expecting a child. The names of other prominent disciples who wholeheartedly served the Guru are : Raja Fateh Chand Maini, Bhai Chain Sukh, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Jeth Mal, Bhai Dedh Mal, Bhai Nand Kumar, Bhai Din Dayal, Bhai Mehar Chand, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Hira Nand, Bhai Gayo Das, Bhai Prehlad Das, Bhai Bansidhar, Bhai Murlidhar, Bhai Mohan Das, Bhai Nain Sukh, Bhai Harikes, Bhai Chabil Das, Bhai Bhagwan Das, Bhai Gujar Mal, Bhai Sadanand, Bhai Ghanishyam, Bhai Kawal Nain, Bhai Ram Rai, Bhai Murli Dhar, Bhai Kishen Das, Bhai Singha, Bhai Sangat Das, Bhai Baij Nath, Bhai Sukh Deo, Bhai Jhabar Singh, Bhai Jagman, Bhai Rupa, Bhai Lal Man, Bhai Anant Das, Bhai Amlia Keskar, Bhai Sufer Chand, Bhai Nain Sukh, Bhai Gulal Chand, Bhai Bal Gobind, Bhai Bhagta, Bhai Bindraban, Bhai Pala Govardan Das, Pala Pheru, Bhai Bansidhar, Fisherman Sukhdeo, Bhai Suja Ram, Bhai Hira Nand, Bhai Paras Ram, Bhai Bhag Mal, Bhai Hirdai Ram, Bhai Mitter Sain, Bhai Gaj Mal, Bhai Jagdeo, Bhai Dalpat, Bhai Mul Dasi, Bhai Achetan, Bhai Bala Mula, Bhai Lachua, Bhai Raghunath, Bhai Dina Nath, Bhai Pran Nath, Bhai Subha Chand, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Pritam Das, Bhai Bhoj Rai and others.

Guru Tegh Bahadur had now decided to spend the early months of the rainy season (known as the *Chumasa*) at Patna. During this period the whole missionary work in this region was reorganised. As the Dacca *Sangat* also known as *Hazuri Sangat,* was anxiously waiting for Guruji, it was

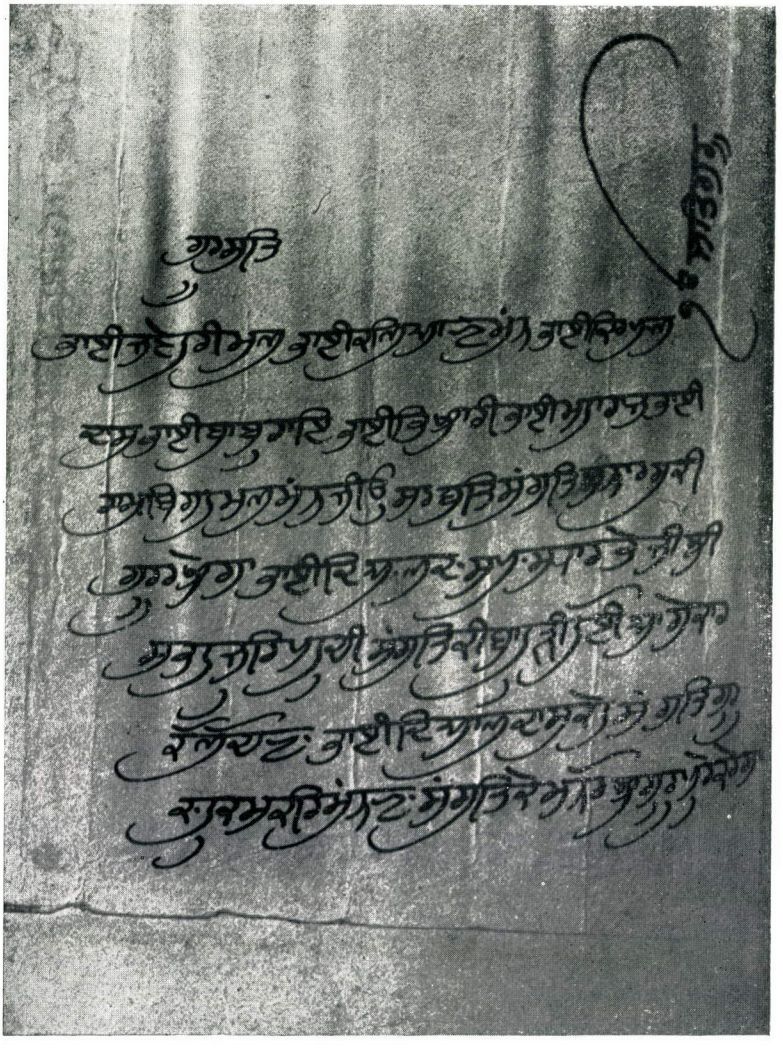
decided that his family should stay at Patna while he went to Bengal and Kamarup to meet and bless those brave Sikhs who had been keeping the torch of Sikh faith burning in those far flung areas for over a century.

Bhai Dayal Das was appointed the Suba (lit: Governor meaning Archbishop) over all the missionary centres in East Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and other neighbouring areas[12] Guru Tegh Bahadur gave him complete authority over the *Sangats* of these regions. Every letter written by Guruji from Bengal to the *Sangats* of these areas bears witness to the Master's profound confidence in this noble soul. Again and again Guruji instructs the *Sangats* to consider Bhai Dayal Das an embodiment of his own Spirit, and respect him as his own living image. His command was to be accepted as Guruji's command.[13] His exalted character, dedicated soul organisational ability, tireless spirit of service, and unstinted devotion to the cause of his faith, made him the most outstanding Sikh, deserving such a high and responsible post. Out of personal love and affection for this scion of Bhai Mai Das' family, every one of whose ten sons fell a martyr to the cause of Sikhism, Guru Tegh Bahadur addressed him as *Bheiya ji* (Respected Brother). As long as Bhai Dayal Das was there at Patna he was no longer worried about the welfare of his family. He knew that they would be looked after, with as much care and affection as he could personally bestow on them.

Some Sikhs complained to the Guru that Bhai Jaith Mal (whose name is often given incorrectly as Bhai Jaita), was very dirty in his habit because he never took a bath, never wore clean clothes, never said his prayers regularly and did not visit the temple as frequently as a Sikh should. Guru Tegh Bahadur smiled and asked two of his disciples to find out the truth. To the Guru, Bhai Jaith Mal appeared to be as devout a Sikh as anyone else. These two disciples disguised themselves as travellers and sought Bhai Jaith Mal's hospitality, which was freely granted. At night they keenly watched Bhai Jaith Mal. To their surprise he quietly got up at 2 A.M. took his bath and after putting on very clean clothes sat in his meditations and prayers for nearly four hours. At daybreak he wore the same dirty clothes which he generally wore while working outside, and attended to his guests. Guru Tegh



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Benaras *Sangat* asking them to give the tithes to Bhai Jawehri Mal, who should send them to Bhai Dayal Das at Patna



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Benaras *Sangat* to accept the requests of Bhai Dayal Das as the Guru's command

Bahadur was happy to learn about the silent devotion of Bhai Jaith Mal for God, and blessed him.[14]

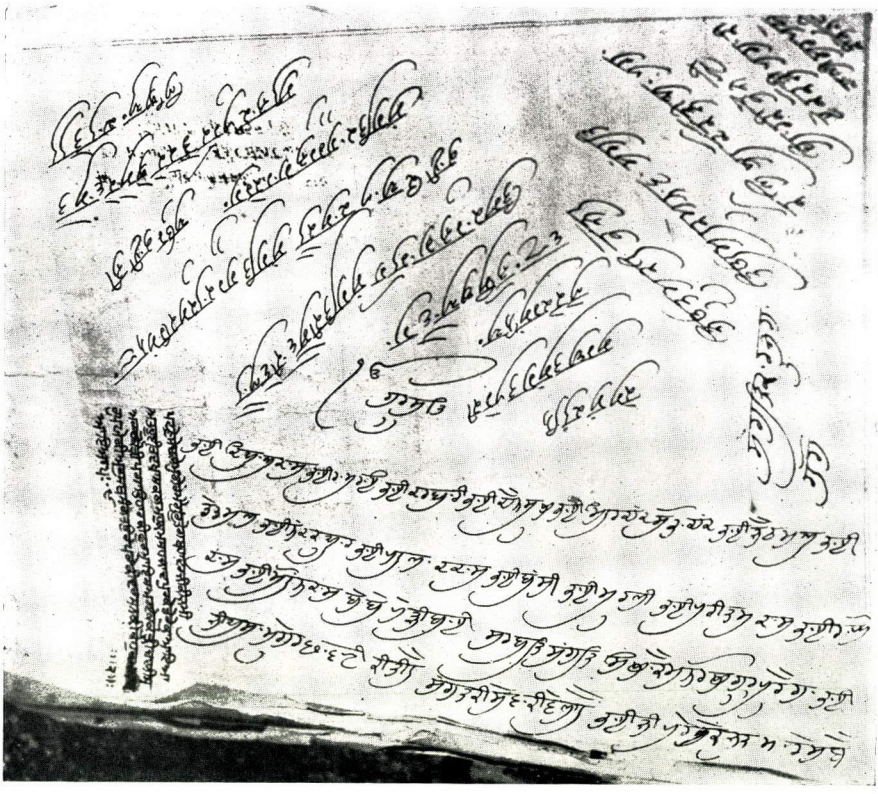
Elaborate preparations were made for the journey to Dacca and Kamarup. Bhai Bulaki Das from Dacca and Raja Ram Rai of some state in Kamarup,[15] personally came with gifts, money, and plans for the journey. Raja Fateh Chand Maini, and *masand* Ram Rai, the Head of the Patna diocese, took responsibility for arranging a still better accommodation for Guruji's family. Holy Mother Nanaki wanted Guru Tegh Bahadur to stay on for a few months more at Patna and wait for the birth of his child some time in December. But to the detached spirit of Guru Tegh Bahadur, his responsibility to fulfil the wishes of his disciples thirsting for his illuminating presence was dearer than any family affair. He left Patna sometime in August 1666 A.D. along with his prominent disciples Diwan Mati Das. Bhai Sati Das, Bhai Gurditta and others. Covering about thirty miles a day Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Monghyr, a flourishing town on the banks of the Ganges. Here Guruji stopped for nearly a month and wrote letters to the *Sangats* of Allahabad, Benares, Mirzapur, and Patna. To Patna *Sangat* and Bhai Dayal Das, he wrote : "The wishes of the disciples and the whole *Sangat* shall be fulfilled by the Guru. We have camped at Monghyr. It is the time now for the *Sangat* to serve. Bhaiji, bring all the *masands* working under you and also the *Sangat* to Monghyr for *darshan* (personal blessings of the Guru). Whoever comes shall abide in prosperity. This is the opportunity to serve the cause of the Sikhism. Whatever Bhai Dayal Das says should be accepted by the *Sangat* as the command of the Guru. The Guru will fulfil the desires of such disciples. There is one more thing, respected Brother. We are thinking of acquiring some tents for our *dera* (convoy) from Shahzadpur. I leave it to you. You can send any order to the *Sangat* and make them comply with your commands. Please send forty Bihari turbans; also send twenty turbans worth forty rupees. The *Sangat* shall flourish in prosperity."[16]

To the Benares *Sangat* he wrote : "All the tithes and offerings should be given to Bhai Dayal Das. It will reach the Guru's presence. The *Sangat* shall be blessed. We have camped at Monghyr. Whoever comes here to receive the Guru's blessings shall receive his divine favour. His desires

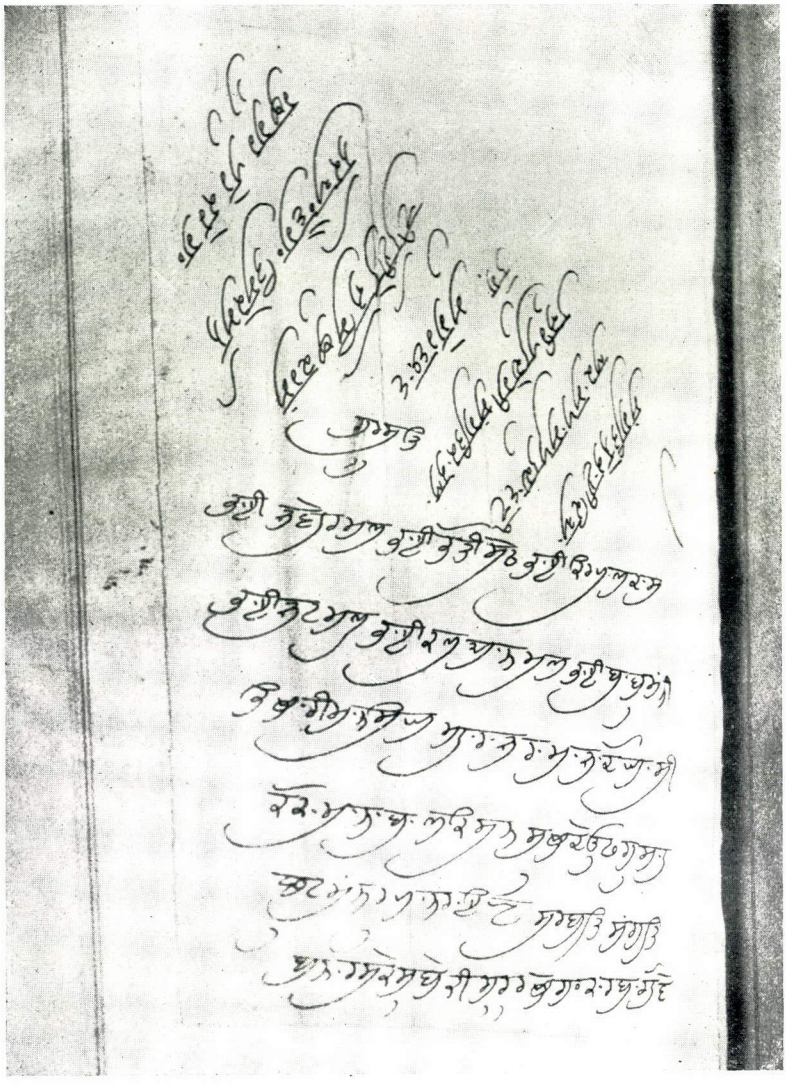
shall be fulfilled."[17] Similar letters were written to all the dioceses.

Most of the letters of Guru Tegh Bahadur indicate that some Raja was with him in his itinerary and he accompanied him back to Anandpur. Neither Raja Ram Singh nor any other General of the Mughal Army was with him during his journey from Patna to Dacca. No Mughal General sent with an army on a military expedition, according to the rules, could stop at Monghyr for more than two days. But Guru Tegh Bahadur camped here for nearly a month, and invited his disciples of Allahabad, Mirzapur, Benares to come and meet him. He would certainly not have written to these *Sangats* to send such small amounts of money as eighty to hundred rupees, and such articles as turbans, and tents, if Raja Ram Singh who went to Dacca much later with a huge army had been with him. Some of the costly turbans he was acquiring were to be given as robes of honours to visitors and dignitaries, who met him on the way to Dacca, such as *pirs,* saintly scholars, devout chiefs and *masands.* During his stay at Monghyr and other places where he camped, Kirtan was performed by his bards and musicians, sermons were delivered, and elevating and sweet Songs of *Nirvana* (the *Padavli*) were composed by Guru Tegh Bahadur and recorded by Bhai Sati Das. Says an Assamese chronicler about Guru Tegh Bahadur : "He became the Guru of a large number of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. He would not take the name of Rama and Krishna, nor of any god or goddess. On meeting a disciple of his own faith he would simply say : "*Vah-Guru, Vah-Guru*" and nothing else.[164] People came from great distances to have a glimpse of the Guru. He was the second Guru of the Sikh faith to come so far, and revive the seeds of faith sown by Guru Nanak.

From Monghyr Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Bhagalpur, and from there to Colgong, Sahibganj and Kantnagar. This village, Kantnagar, was subsequently wiped out by the floods, and the inhabitants moved to a new site towards the north, now known as Lachmipur. A number of villages in these areas of Bihar are still predominantly Sikh villages. Although their dress is Bihari, and the language is Maithili, they retain Sikh traditions and practices in much purer form than we find them in the Punjab. When Patna Sahib was raised to the status



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter written from Monghyr to Bhai Dayal Das and the Patna *Sangat*, asking them to come and meet him and bring some tents and 40 turbans



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Benaras *Sangat*, informing them that he has camped at Monghyr, and asking them to come for *darshan*

of a *Takhat* after the abolition of the *masands,* an army was stationed there. This Khalsa army was such a powerful force that the Mughals and Assamese continued to seek their support in their military campaigns up to the time of the British invasion. The memory of the Guru's visit is still fresh in the minds of the people, and the presence of Guru Tegh Bahadur is still felt in the wonderful legends told and retold by the devout Bihari and Bengali Sikhs of these areas. From Kantnagar Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Raj Mahal, where he stopped for three days. From here he moved on to the great Sufi centre Malda, known for its *Pirs* and *Fakirs.* Here the Sufi *Pirs* gathered around him and discussed many religious problems. They were deeply impressed by the magnetic personality of the Guru and the active associations of the Sikh faith with the major Sufi Schools of thought, like the *Chistis* and the *Qaidriyas.*

From Malda he went to Godagari, Gopalpur and, passing through Pabna, he reached Dacca by the middle or the end of October 1664 A.D. Here he met a reception befitting kings and emperors. The *masands,* the disciples, and innumerable Rajas who were Ministers and Army Generals under the Viceroy of Dacca came to pay homage to Guru Tegh Bahadur.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] *History and Culture of the Indian People*: *The Imperial Age* ed: by R. C. Majumdar p 23

[2] ibid

[3] *Comprehensive History of India;* Longmans, p 502-3; 667

[4] Tavernier: *Travels*

[5] Dennis Kincaid: *The Grand Rebel,* p 114

[6] ibid; J. N. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb,* p 124.

[7] ibid p 124

[8] ibid

[9] ibid

[10] J. N. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*; Dennis Kincaid: *The Grand Rebel, 134*

[11] They accompanied Guru Hari Krishen to Delhi and stayed with the Guru in Jaipur House. Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh kept Guru Hari Krishen in his protective custody till the dispute of succession was settled to the satisfaction of the Sikhs. Malcolm: The Sikhs.

[12] The names of all the disciples of Patna are recorded in the

letters of Guru Tegh Bahadur. These letters make it clear that Bhai Dayala was made the *Suba* of Patna and the Missionary centre of Benaras, Allahabad, Mirzapur, and other neighbouring regions were placed under him. These letters are quoted in this chapter, and subsequent chapters.

[13] "Dayāl Dās kahe so saňgat mande rehnā, sikhaň dā bhalā hog"
Guru Tegh Bahadur *Letter from Monghyr to Benaras.*
"Bhai Dayāl Dās kahai, saňgat Guru kā hukam kar manaňā."
Saňgat kā Guru rujgār kare gā."
Guruji's—*Letter from Monghyr to Patna.*

[14] *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 11, *Aňsū* 57.

[15] The letters indicate that One Raja accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur in his Bengal tours and back to Anandpur. Randhir Singh's assertion that it was Raja Ram Singh Amber son of Mirza Jai Singh is fantastic in view of two glaring facts: (1) At this period Raja Ram Singh was in disgrace. (2) When Ram Singh was sent to Assam he continued to stay there till after the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur. It was impossible for him to follow Guru Tegh Bahadur, as Randhir Singh suggests from Dhubri to Jaganath Puri and back to Patna and Delhi

G. B. Singh suggest that it was Raja Sabal Singh Sasodia who accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur from Patna to Dacca (Dacca Review 1915). But Raja Sabal Singh Sasodia had reached Dacca a year earlier and accompanied Shaista Khan's sons in their conquest of Chittagaon and Sondip. So the Raja who accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur from Patna to Assam and back to Anandpur was neither Raja Ram Singh Amber nor Raja Sabal Singh Sasodia. There are two other Rajas who were connected with Guru Tegh Bahadur whose names are known to us through historical records. (1) Raja Fateh Chand Maini's name is found in the letters of Guru Tegh Bahadur written from Dacca which clearly suggests that he did not accompany the Guru on his Bengal and Assam tours. (2) Raja Ram Rai actually belonged to some state in Kamarup which does not exist any more. As soon as Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Dacca he is said to have sought blessings for the birth of a son. A son was born to him while Guru Tegh Bahadur was yet in Bengal and Assam. It is most probably this Raja who out of extreme devotion accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur back to Anandpur. Later his son Rattan Rai paid homage to Guru Gobind Singh by coming all the way from Kamarup with an offering of white elephant and many precious gifts. As the name of the Raja is not given it is difficult to be absolutely certain.

Gyani Gyan Singh gives the name of Raja Ram Rai as Ram Deo. He also says that Raja Ram Deo's grandmother's name was Gaurjan was met Guru Nanak a century and a half earlier, when Guru Nanak visited Kamarup.
Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā, p 87.

16 sarbat saṅgat sikhān ke manoraṭh Gurū pūre gā; Bhaī jī asāṅ Monghyr chāvnī kītī hai; saṅgat kī sevā ka velā hai; Bhaījī pare ke jo tumāre sube ke masaṅd haiṅ, sarbat saṅgat pare kī lai ke darśan āvnā; jo sikh avegā tiskā ruzgār hog saṅgat kī sevā kī velā hai; Bhai Dayāl Dās kahai Saṅgat Guru ka hukam kar manaṅā; Saṅgat kā Gurū rujgār kare gā; aur Bhaijī Sahjādpur ko Dere ke kheme ke vāste likhyā cāhte hai. Jioṅ tum keh bhejo tioṅ hukam manaṅā; saṅgat ko likho. do koḍīāṅ pagān Bihār kī bhejnī, ek koḍī pagā kī calīs rupāe kī bhejni, Saṅgat kā ruzgār hog.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Letter from Monghyr to Patna.*

17 kār bār hovai Saṅgat ne Bhai Dayal Dās pās pahūncāvnī hazur pahuṅce gī. Saṅgat kā bhalā hog, Monghyr chāvni hoi hai; jo Sikh darśan ko āvai gā tis ko manorath Gurū pure kare gā.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's

Letter from Monghyr to Benaras Sangat.

These letters from Monghyr clearly show that Guru Tegh Bahadur camped on the way to Bengal at various places for over a month, which was not possible for him to do if he accompanied Rajā Ram Singh. Here he waited for the disciples of Benaras and Patna to come and meet him. He also expresses his requirement of tents and turbans. Had he been accompanying Raja Ram Singh at this stage it is inconceivable that he would be requiring tents. Raja Ram Singh's army consisted of 21 Rajput chiefs, 30,000 infantry and 18,000 Turkish cavalry. If Guru Tegh Bahadur was with him, it is unbelievable that the Guru would stop at Monghyr and ask his disciples to send a few tents from Patna. These letters strongly indicate that Raja Ram Singh was not with Guruji on his journey from Patna to Dacca. He was most probably accompanied by Raja Ram Rai of some state in Kamarup. Raja Ram Singh Amber met Guru Tegh Bahadur two years later at Dacca and it is from Dacca that Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied Raja Ram Singh Amber to Dhubri.

CHAPTER XVII

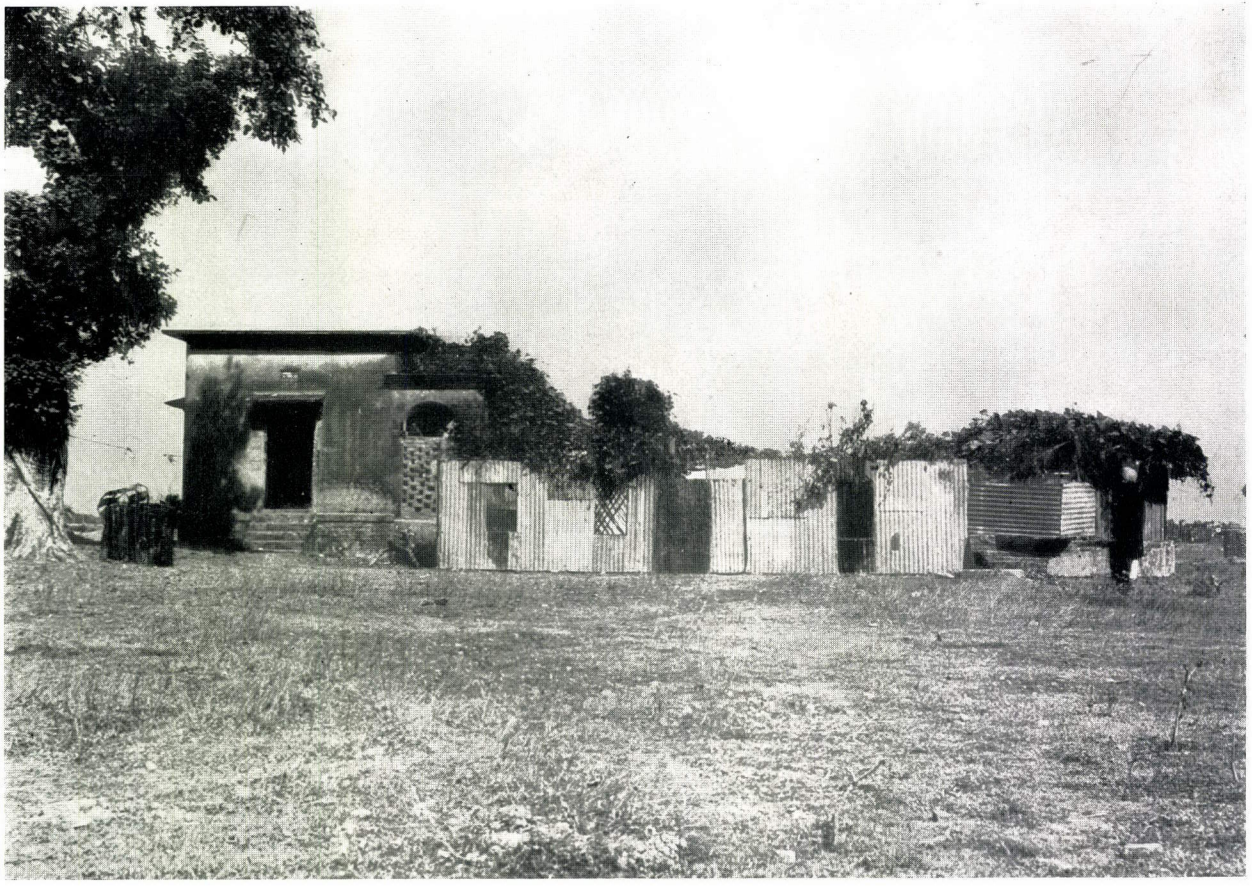
GURU TEGH BAHADUR IN BENGAL

THE origin of the city of Dacca is shrouded in mystery. Various theories have been propounded to explain the derivation of the name Dacca. According to the most popular opinion, the word "Dhaka or Dacca" is derived from *Dhak*, the name of a tree, *Butea Frondos* which bears red blossoms and is plentiful here.[1] Sayid Aulad Hasan gives a tradition according to which Dhaka is derived from the Bengali word *Dhak* meaning drum.[2] Vikramaditya is said to have visited this region and his capital Bikrampur still survives.

European travellers identified Dacca with Bangala. Dacca consisted of 52 bazars and 53 streets, and from the circumstances it obtained the name of *"Bauna Bazar and Tippan Galli."* One of these the, Bangalla bazar, still exists. Bangalla is one of the older names of Dacca referred to by Rennel. It is not improbable that *"Baunoo bazar and Tippan Galli"* was the city here alluded to, and the name of Bangalla by which one of its many bazars was known was applied by Europeans to the whole town, from the circumstance perhaps of this bazar being the place in which trade was chiefly carried on with foreigners. What tends to confirm this opinion of the identity of Dacca and Bangalla is the circumstance that only one of them is ever mentioned by the same traveller.[3]

Bengal was known as a country of hellish paradise. Bernier, the French traveller and physician, who visited Bengal in 1665 A.D. very aptly observed that Bangala has a hundred gates open for entrance but not one for departure. Its wealth and goods attracted all travellers while its climate was killing. The Chinese travellers call it *Pang Kola* (Bangala). Abdul Fazal mentions that Kamarup originally extended to Dacca and a considerable part of the present East Bengal.

Guru Nanak visited this place on his way from Dhubri in Assam to Jagannah Puri in the beginning of 16th century. The place was famous for the Dhakeswari temple, a place of pilgrimage. This part of the country was then divided into a number of petty states which were dignified with the title of kingdoms. There appeared to be considerable scarcity of



Guru Nanak's Well: *Sikher Mandir*, Dacca (Pakistan). The well on the extreme right is 10 ft. in diameter and 30 ft. deep. Near it is the temple, a rectangular hall with a vaulted verandah. It is under the possession of the Pakistan Government



Sangat Tola Gurdwara, Dacca (Pakistan)

drinking water. During his short stay Guru Nanak had a well constructed here and a temple and tank were built by some local Raja to commemorate the Guru's visit. In the month of March (*Chaitra*) people of all faiths used to gather in worship and prayer to keep the memory of Guru Nanak's visit alive. The water of the well was believed to possess miraculous powers. Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs came to drink the wish-fulfilling waters of this historic well until recent times.[4]

A greater miracle was performed by Guru Nanak by leaving the light of his faith burning intensely in the soul of the Bengalis of Dacca and other places visited by him. Guru Amar Das was the first to send missionaries to this region who organised the *sangat* here and informed the Bengali Sikhs that Baisakhi (New Year Day) had been fixed as the national gathering day, when Sikhs of distant places were expected to come and meet the living Guru. History has preserved the name of Bhai Mohan of Dacca, who visited Punjab during the time of Guru Hargobind.[5]

Shortly after Bhai Mohan's visit to Punjab Baba Gurditta eldest brother of Guru Tegh Bahadur reorganised the Udasi missionaries of Guru Nanak's son, Sri Chand, and appointed Almast the chief missionary over all the centres in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Almast[6] visited all these areas with a band of inspired Sikhs and appointed them *masands* (bishops) at Patna, Rajmahal, Dacca, Calcutta and Jagannath Puri.

Almast appointed Bhai Natha as the Head of the Bengal Missionary centre, while Bulaki Das was the *masand* who assisted him in the work. As the city grew, it was felt that a temple should be built in the centre of the city. Bhai Natha, though of a very caustic temper and flaming tongue was very much respected for his piety and philanthrophy. With the help of donations freely given by Bengali Sikhs, Bhai Natha built a beautiful temple on the right side of the road which now goes from Ramana race course towards Nilket. It is just behind the newly built Public Library. Bhai Natha also built a well, which was repaired later and a stone inscription was fixed which reads: "In the name of the True God, the Creator, and of Guru Nanak (attached to) the Guru *gaddi* at Nanakmata of Almastraj. Baba Natha Sahib's *Sangat* at Shujatpur. Mahant Premdas. Well repaired in 1890 B.S.

1833 A.D. Another Bengali inscription is fixed on the top of the well.[7]

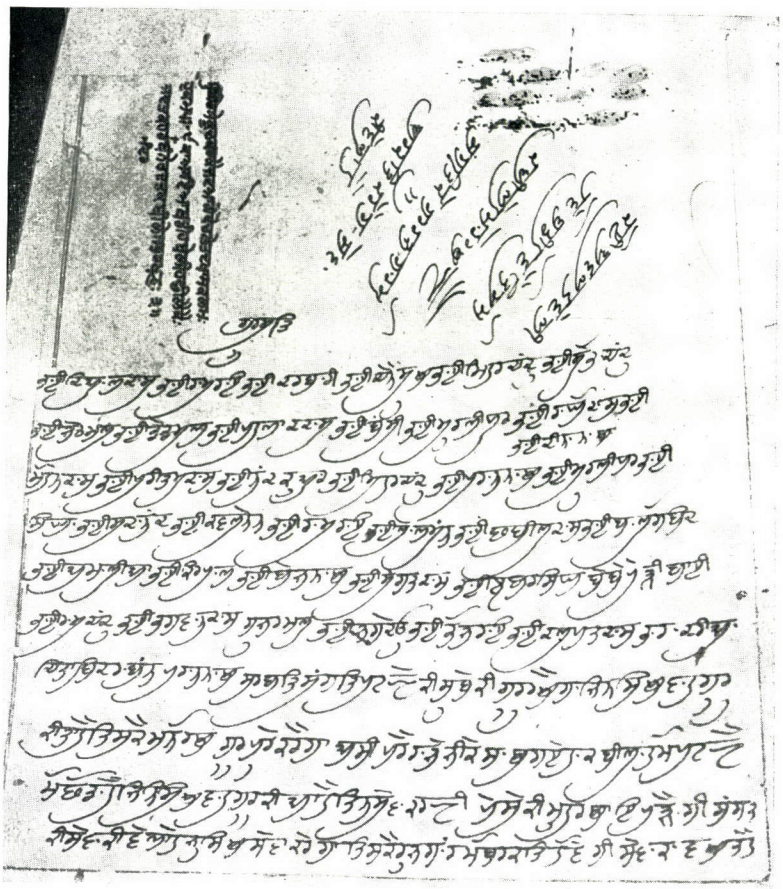
"The Sikh organisation is located in a big compound, which can be entered through an arched gateway from the northern by-lane. The interior falls into two parts, the temple-cum-residential complex on the east, and the western half containing a masonry tank, a well, and other *samadhis* (death memorials). The eastern half consists of a rectangular court, on the northern and southern sides of which range residential rooms, while its western side is occupied by the temple. In the court is a *vedi* (raised seat) on which is set a black stone containing footprints (probably of some Guru). The temple consists of multiple rooms arranged around a central square room,—four rooms on its four sides and other four at the corners, in all nine. All these are interconnected by arched doorways. The roof is a flat vault resting on coping arches at the sides. In the central room is a small platform on which is still kept the *Guru Granth.* The ground plan of this temple exactly follows the arrangement of rooms in Bibi Pari's tomb.[8] (Bibi Pari, or Lady Fairy, better named Iran Dukht was daughter of Nawab Shaista Khan who died in 1684 A.D.)

Nawab Islam Khan (1606-1613 A.D.) named Dacca, Jahangirnagar, and shifted the capital to this city from Rajmahal, which then lost its strategic importance.[9] Shah Jahan visited it in 1624 A.D. Sultan Mohammed Shuja temporarily transferred the capital to Rajmahal for his self-defence, but six years before Guru Tegh Bahadur arrived Mir Jumla again transferred it to Dacca. In 1664 A.D. Shaista Khan nephew of the beautiful Empress Nurjahan and brother of the Lady who sleeps in Taj Mahal was appointed Viceroy of Bengal.

Shaista Khan was the noblest ruler that India was fortunate to have, after Akbar. He ruled Bengal with great compassion, and noble concern for all communities. While Aurangzeb had started eliminating Hindu and non-Muslim officials, the key posts in his administration were held by the Hindus. Even his Prime Minister (Diwan) was a Hindu. Rankin in his Dacca Diaries (1668 A.D.) states that the following were the principal non-Muslim Officials : *Diwans*: Raja Bhagwant Das[10], Rai Nand Lall. *Peshdast of Diwan*: Keshi Das ; *House Diwan*: Murlidhar ; *Munshi*: Parbal Das,



Nanak Shahi Temple at Ramna, Dacca (Pakistan)



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Patna *Sangat* asking them to acquire an excellent house, (*aval haveli*) for his family

Chief Mutsady: Manohar Das; *Mutsady*: Shib Ram; *Superintendent of Finances and Ships*: Kishor Das. *Commander* of 15,000: Raja Subal Singh Sisodia.[11] Out of these, Raja Bhagwant Das who was the Diwan at the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur's arrival, is said to be a Nanak Panthi.

From Rajmahal to Dacca Guru Tegh Bahadur and his *entourage* covered the journey in about nine days. A royal reception was awaiting them at Dacca. The Dacca *Sangat* had built a house specially for Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay, which is now known as Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Sangat* and is situated in the Sangat Tola lane. The mohalla is also called Sangat Tola.[12] The rich and the poor, the high and the low, men, women, and children flocked to see the prophet from the Punjab, the eighth successor of Guru Nanak. Dacca was the most prosperous place in India. Wealth and gold were in abundance. The Portuguese Missionary Sebastian Manrique writes in 1640 A.D., "Money is so plentiful in Dacca that it is seldom counted but always weighed. The vastness of wealth in the city is stupefying."[13]

Daily *Kirtan* was held, sermons were delivered, visitors were received, and the number of those who received the light of Guru's faith, and became his ordained disciples also swelled. He won the admiration of Shaista Khan and his nobles. The locality in which Guru Tegh Bahadur was lodged was mainly reserved for foreigners. Close by, was the Christian Mission under Father Bernard de Jesus, Vicar General of Bengal. In the Feringi Bazar lived the Portuguese and Englishmen who had already established a colony.

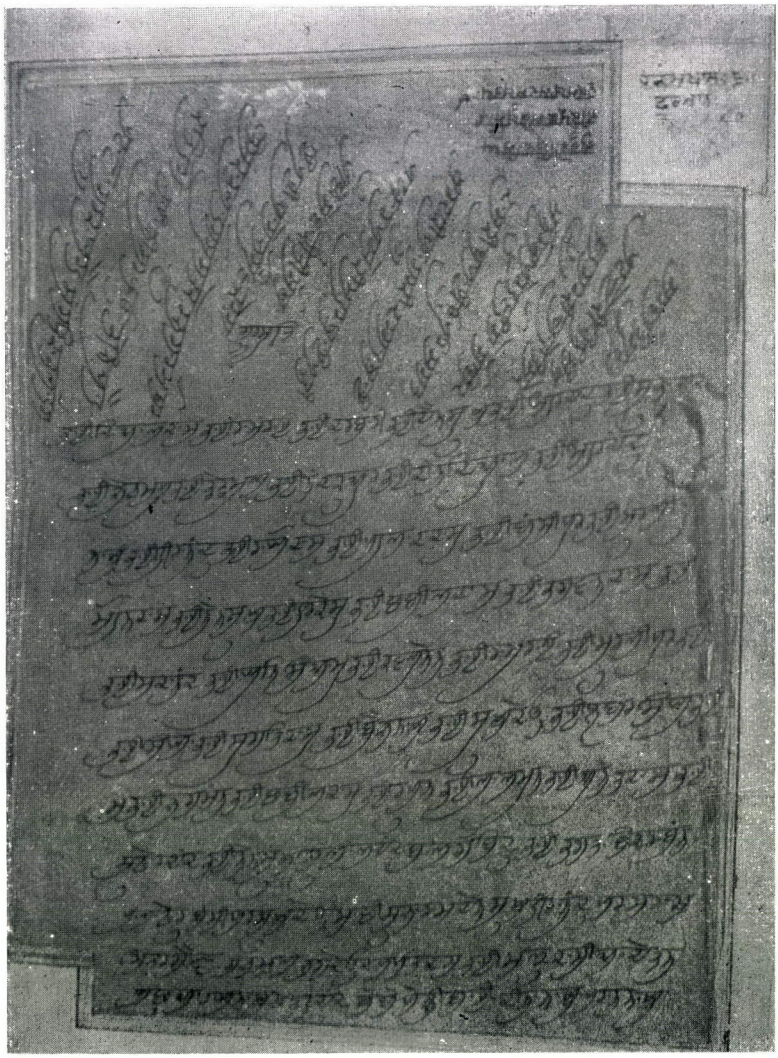
At Patna Guru Gobind Singh was born on December 22, 1666 A.D. (Posh Sudi 7, 1723 B.S.).[14] There was illumination and great rejoicing at the birth of the Guru's son who was named Gobind Das.[15] Later Guru Gobind was frequently addressed as Gobind Rai. When he ordained the Holy Order of the Khalsa and added the suffix "Singh : Lion," to the name of all his disciples, he added it to his own name also. He is therefore known in history as Gobind Singh.[16]

Bhai Dayal Das immediately dispatched a letter to Dacca giving the happy news which was carried post haste to Dacca by Bhai Mehar Chand and Bhai Kalyan Chand. There was great rejoicing at Dacca. Recitation of the Scriptures, *Kirtan* (hymn singing), and illumination were held. Food and clothes

were distributed to the poor. Guru Tegh Bahadur immediately wrote the following reply to Bhai Dayal Das and the Patna *Sangat*: "My blessings on the *Sangat* of Patna and all the *Sangat* who contemplate the Divine Name ; *"Vah-Guru"* ; God will fulfil their desires. The *Sangat* of Patna has spent money to celebrate the birth of Gobind Das. All the offerings made on the occasion shall be accepted and shall receive divine favour in the *Dargah* (Heavenly Court) of God. A rupee (silver coin) shall be accepted in His Presence as a *mohar* (gold coin). All other services rendered on the occasion shall be accepted, and blessed by God. He who renders service to Gobind Das in future shall be blessed, and shall receive the favour of God. Everyone of you will flourish in prosperity and receive the bounties of God. I am sending a robe of honour to you respected Brother (Dayal Das). Patna is the Home of the Guru. May the *Sangat* of Patna live in prosperity.[17]

Guru Tegh Bahadur now wished to visit other areas in Bengal. The sensitive soul of the Bengali people had responded so enthusiastically to his call for spiritual life that invitations from all regions of Bengal were pouring in. Guru Tegh Bahadur was anxious to establish religious centres of his faith in all major towns. Raja Ram Rai, who accompanied him on this itinerary, probably belonged to one of these regions. Between Chittagong and Sylhet there were many small independent kingdoms which accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals. Raja Ram Rai was the ruler of one of these states, most probably some state of the Jantia Hills near Sylhet,[18] known for its white elephants, and other rare products, and included in the boundaries of old Kamarup.

The journey through these regions was hazardous and required special camp equipage and preparations. Raja Ram Rai had sought one favour from the Guru. Now that a son had been born to the Guru he begged the Guru to pray for him so that he might also be blessed with a noble son who would serve Gobind Das with the same pride and devotion with which he was serving him. Guru Tegh Bahadur granted his request. Preparations were now underway to go first to the Jantia Hills, Sylhet, and from there go south to Chittagong, and Sondip, and then come back to Dacca within a year or so. In connection with this journey Guru Tegh Bahadur



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter written from Dacca to Patna *Sangat,* on hearing about the birth of his son, Gobind Das, in which he sends his benediction: *Gobind Das ki vadhai*



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter to Patna *Sangat* blessing them for looking after Gobind Das with devoted care

wrote another letter to Patna *Sangat* saying : "The Guru's grace will redeem the *Sangat* of Patna; repeat the divine Name and ever remember the Guru. Sikhs who contemplate the divine Name, *Vah-Guru*,[19] shall be blessed by the Guru and their wishes shall be fulfilled. Patna is the Home of the Guru. The *Sangat* of Patna is devoutly serving Govind Das. The service of Gobind Das and of the Guru shall be accepted in the *dargah* of God. May the *Sangat* ever live in prosperity. If Bhai Raja has sent the tents from the other side, (some city west of Patna), then please send them. Our requirements are as follows : One special tent (*suhela*), three awnings, (*qanats*), one *peshkhana* (duplicate tent)[20] and one kitchen tent, a five yard *ravti*. Send some enclosure tents, and the awnings necessary for that also. All these things may be sent with Bhai Mallu Mehra. The Guru will bless the *Sangat*. Patna is the Home of the Guru."[21]

Accompanied by his disciple Raja Ram Rai, Guru Tegh Bahadur left for Jantia Hills and Sylhet. He felt that the house in which his family was lodged was not spacious enough for the upbringing of his son, who would soon require a playground, a garden, rooms for his governesses, and other attendants to look after him, and train him in the best possible manner. So he wrote the following letter to Bhai Dayal Das and the Patna *Sangat* : "The Sikhs who contemplate the divine Name, *Vah-Guru*, shall be redeemed by the Guru. We are now going beyond (Dacca) with Rajaji. I have left the family at Patna; devout Sikhs who remember God are expected to look after them and serve them. A penny in service will bear the merit of gold coin in the presence of God. This is the opportunity for the *Sangat* of Patna to render service. Whoever renders any service shall be blessed, and his offerings in the name of the Guru shall bear fruit. Now is the golden opportunity to render service to the cause of the Guru. Find a first class, large, and spacious house (*aval haveli hovai, badi havai*) and lodge my family in it".

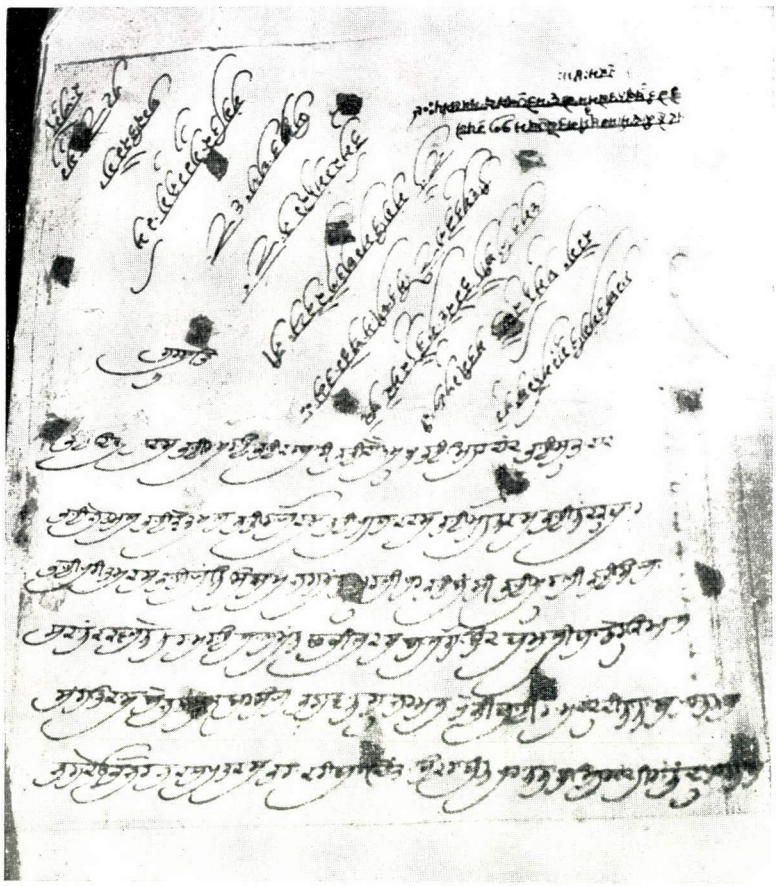
It was probably in response to this request that Raja Fateh Chand Maini of Patna built a large house which was completed and dedicated to the Guru's family on Guru Nanak's ascension day, Assu Vadi 10 in the year 1725 B.S., 1668 A.D.[22] The Child, Gobind Das, developed a deep

personal affection for the wives of Raja Fateh Chand, named Kishori Devi and Visambhara Devi.

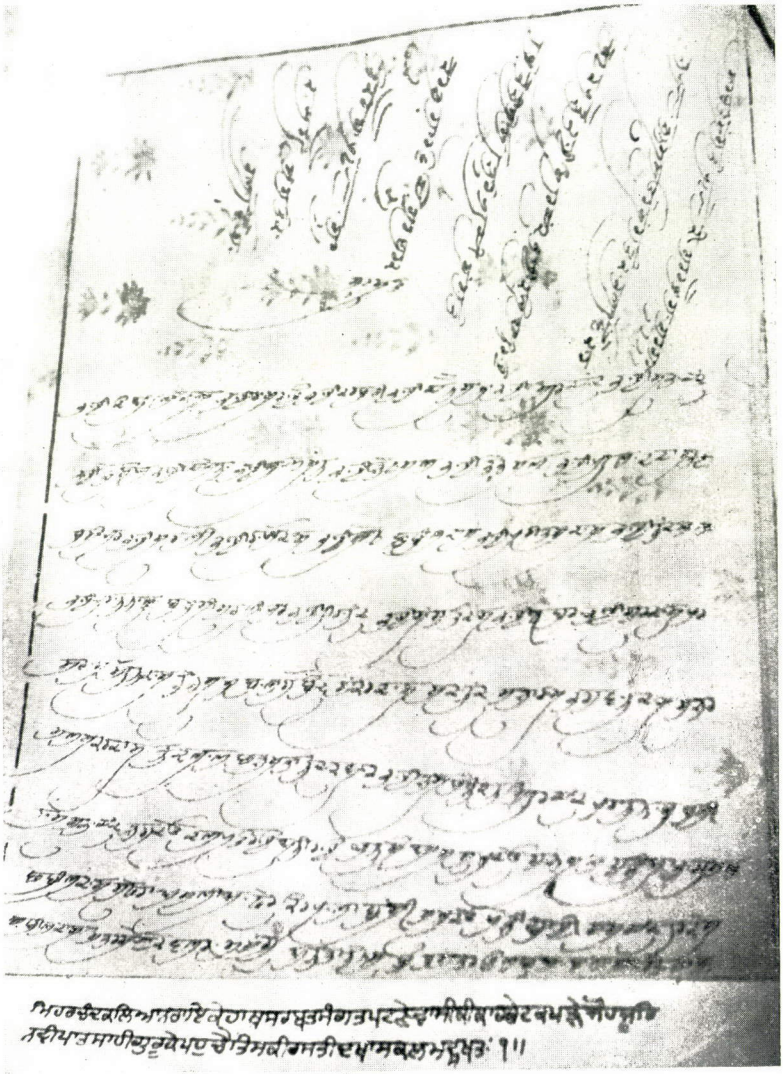
Sylhet at this period was divided into three principal states Laur, Gaur, and Jaintia, and it is highly probable that Raja Ram Rai was the ruler of one of these states. These three states covered Sunamganj, Khasia Hills, Habiganj, Amirganj, Nabiganj, Sankarpasah, Jaintia Hills and the present town of Sylhet. The place became famous for Sufis and eunuchs. The first Sufi Khanqah was established by Shah Jalal who came to this place with three hundred disciples and settled here. Shah Jalal was a contemporary of Shaikh Farid and Nizamudin Auliya. His spiritual and cultural influence on Bengal was tremendous. Guru Tegh Bahadur visited early in the year 1667 A.D. Here he also established a missionary centre known as the Sylhet *Sangat,* under which there were minor *Sangats* of the neighbouring area. The Sufis of Sylhet, though far more bigoted than the Sufis of the Punjab, Patna, Delhi and Malda, were impressed by the mystic light which the Guru and his disciples radiated. To Guru Tegh Bahadur's son Gobind Singh later on Sylhet provided war elephants.[23]

After spending the rainy season at Sylhet Guru Tegh Bahadur moved South towards Chittagong, and Sondip. He passed through Shaistaganj, and stopped at Agartala, the capital of independent Tripura State.[24] From Agartala he moved on to Commilla, Laksam, Daulatganj, Sitakund, and Hathazari. From here he went to Chittagong where he stayed towards the end of the year 1667 A.D. During his stay at Chittagong he established a large religious centre of his faith, and even went to Sondip Island, and established a *Sangat* there. We have the letters of Guru Gobind Singh addressed to the Chittagong and Sondip *Sangats,* which show that these dioceses, founded by Guru Tegh Bahadur, must have made tremendous progress because less than thirty years after the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur the Sondip Island *Sangat* and the Chittagong *Sangat* were prosperous enough to provide weapons, and war material for the freedom fight of Guru Gobind Singh.[24]

Guru Tegh Bahadur stayed for a few weeks at Dohazari also. Here it is believed a dog belonging to the Guru was seized by a crocodile. The local Mohammadan Zamindar had an autograph of Guru Tegh Bahadur which was pre-



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter written from Dacca to Patna *Sangat* asking for camp equipment. It also asks Bhai Dayal Das to come for *darshan* to Dacca



Guru Tegh Bahadur's Letter stating that Bhai Mehar Chand and Bhai Kalyan Das had brought camp equipment from Patna to Dacca

served till the other day, with a reverence due to a valued family heirloom, and holy relic. The paper may yet be found in the court of wards."[25] The priest at Banskhali informed the author that inspired by the visit of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and the places where he camped, and delivered his melodious sermons, *Sangats,* (dioceses) were also established at Agartala, Jorarganj, Feni, Mirsarai Sitakund, Kursira, Bhatian, Comilla, Kulgaon, Hathazari, Rangunia and Kanchannagar. It is this chain of religious centres which clearly indicate that Guru Tegh Bahadur came from Sylhet to Chittagong. Kumira and Kanchannagar had two *Sangats.* The *Sangat* at Banskhali survives to this day. A *jaghir* of Rs. 1,000 is still attached to it. The Sikhs in a subsequent period acquired so much importance in Bengal and Assam that their help was always acquired by the authorities to repel Portuguese and Arakanese attacks, and also for the freedom battles of the Asamese. The *Takhat* Patna maintained a standing army under the Jathedars of Patna Sahib. Because of such help rendered by the Khalsa Army of Patna, a learned Sikh, Sardar Mohan Singh was appointed Governor of Chittagong. [26]

Passing through Noakhali, Chandpur and Narayanganj Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Dacca early in the year 1668 A.D. As soon as he arrived, he received happy news about his son Gobind Das and his family. Though Patna *Sangat* and his family was eagerly waiting for him, he had put his heart and soul into the great work of the moral and spiritual regeneration of his country. He was also determined to revive all the old religious centres established by Guru Nanak in Assam. Had he waited for another three months at Patna he would have seen and blessed his new born son, Gobind Das. Had he spared just one month, he could have easily gone to Patna, met his family and come back. But to the detached spirit of Guru Tegh Bahadur nothing was dearer and more important than the awakening of his country to the grim realities of the impending cloudy future. Unfortunately history has not preserved his beautiful sermons delivered to the people of Bengal for whom he developed a deep and tender affection. Bengal and the Bengalis have not forgotten the Guru's affection for them, and ever since then they have been looking West towards the Punjab, the home of

Sikh faith for renewed inspiration of the Guru, but have been seriously disappointed by the Punjabi Sikhs and leaders of today, who have never even thought of maintaining the spiritual, and cultural contacts, and ties, deeply established by the Gurus between Bengal, the Punjab and Assam, because of their useless preoccupations.[27]

In December 1667 A.D., Aurangzeb received intelligence of the capture of Gauhati by the Ahoms, and he at once resolved to despatch a strong army to re-establish Mughal prestige in the North East Frontier. He selected Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Mirza Jai Singh, partly on account of his able generalship, and partly as a punishment for his alleged connivance at the escape of Shivaji. Ever since the escape of Shivaji he was in disgrace and under house-arrest. His father was dead, though Ram Singh was upto this time ignorant of the fact that he had been poisoned by the connivance of the wily Emperor.[28] Ram Singh was taken back into the Emperor's favour, and created Charhazari and then dispatched to Assam, which was regarded in Mughal tradition as the grave of the generals. On December 27, 1667 A.D. Ram Singh was presented by the Emperor with a Khilat consisting of a gilded saddle, and a dagger with a belt adorned with pearls. On January 6, 1668, he received formal orders from the Emperor appointing him commander of the Assam expedition.[29]. The Emperor informed Ram Singh that he had issued orders to his Prime Minister, Jafar Khan Umdat-ul-Mulk for the supply of provisions for the troops, and directed the Raja to get possession of Gauhati fort after the rainy season was over, promising to send more troops to him.[30] The suspicious Emperor appointed several Muslim Officers: Mir Said Saif Dewan, Mir Raji Dewan, Behlol Khan Daroga, Sultan Ali Daroga, Mir Gazar Beg and Hazi Waqyanavis, to watch and report on the actions of the Hindu Raja lest he should enter into collusion with the King and officers of Assam.[31]

On the way to Dacca Raja Ram Singh stopped for about a week at Patna in a garden founded by his father, Mirza Raja Jai Singh. He met the Holy Mother, Mata Gujari and Bhai Dayal Das from whom he came to know that Guru Tegh Bahadur was already in Bengal, and was planning to go to Assam. The news delighted him. He knew that Assam

was a land where witchcraft had done as much damage to the Imperial armies as the climate. To protect himself from the evil effects of witchcraft, he had already decided to take some religious divines with him. He stopped at Malda, and requested five leading Muslim *pirs* to accompany him and remain with him throughout the campaign, to ward off the evil effects of the witchcraft of the Assamese. He was not quite sure whether Guru Tegh Bahadur would be able to accompany him, and even if he accompanied him he could not compel him to stay on till the end of hostilities. The Sikh Gurus were known to him to be extremely independent-minded and he had seen how Guru Hari Krishen, the Child-prophet, refused even to meet Emperor Aurangzeb. So to arm himself against the demoralising effects of the witchcraft, real or imaginary, he took with him five *Pirs* of Malda, who were given a permanent residence at Dhubri in Assam.[32]

On hearing of the approach of the Raja, Shaista Khan welcomed him with great cordiality and splendour. The two Diwans, Raja Nand Lal, and Rai Muraridhar, escorted the Raja on elephants and horses marching to the notes of five musical instruments. The path lying on the march was splashed with water by a host of *chikabardars,* and the roofs of the houses in the bazaar through which the Raja passed were covered with golden and silver cloth. The Raja approached the Nawab, and addressing him as uncle (*chacha*) saluted the latter by touching his feet. Shaista Khan clasped Ram Singh to his bosom by twining him by the neck and kissed the Raja's head. The Nawab presented to Ram Singh precious elephants and horses and a sword named Khanja whose price amounted to Rs. 25,000. Nawab Shaista Khan then imparted the following instructions to Ram Singh: "Act in such a way that you may remain in the good graces of the Emperor. Aurangzeb Padshah is a shrewd diplomat. Shujanagar (Hazo in Assam) is an unhealthy place, its hills are covered with forests, and poisonous waters flow in its stream during the two months of Baisakh and Jaistha. The air that blows is also infected with poison. You should live very carefully. Do not drink any water but that of Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. Do not admit the women of that place into your palace; they are wicked and treacherous." Ram Singh became extremely delighted with the reception given to him,

and said to the Nawab: "The advice which you have given to me such as is generally imparted by a father to his son."[33]

Raja Ram Singh then met Guru Tegh Bahadur with great reverence. The Guru had already completed his tour of Bengal, and now he wished to revive the religious centres built by Sikh Missionaries to commemorate the visit of Guru Nanak at Dhubri and Kamakhya. By a happy coincidence he was now able to accept Raja Ram Singh's request to accompany him, though the Raja knew that the Guru could not afford to stay for more than six to nine months in Assam.

The personal ties of Raja Ram Singh with Shaista Khan brought the Sikh *Sangats* in greater respectful favour of the peace and harmony loving Governor than ever before. It was at this period that an extensive portion of the modern Dacca was given as *jaghir* to the Nanak Panthi *Akhara* and *Sangat Tola* Gurdwara. Some years ago land for the Dacca University, the Dacca Medical College and Hospital, and the Public Library was all acquired from the Mahants of these Gurdwaras.[34] All this land and much more comprising nearly one-third of present Dacca was sanctioned as *jaghir* by Shaista Khan.

It was at about this time that a son was born to Raja Ram Rai, whom he named Rattan Rai. According to a local tradition his name is also said to be Anup Rai. But the historical records are almost unanimous about his name being Rattan Rai.[35] Guru Tegh Bahadur and his ministers were very happy that God had fulfilled the wishes of his devout disciple, who had accompanied him on his Bengal tour and was now ready to accompany him on his Assam tour also.

Guru Tegh Bahadur and his ministers left Dacca along with Raja Ram Singh. Both Raja Ram Singh and Guru Tegh Bahadur marched a little ahead of the army with a few chosen attendants. Raja Ram Singh and the Guru left Dacca some time in the middle of December 1668 A.D. and reached Assam in February 1669 A.D. The total distance of about two hundred miles was covered in about forty days.[36] Ram Singh's army consisted of 21 Rajput Chiefs, 4000 troopers in his own pay, 1,500 hundred gentlemen troopers, and 500 artillerymen, and with his reinforcements from Bengal his total army swelled up to 30,000 infantry, 18,000 Turkish cavalry, and 15,000 Koch archers.[37] While Guru Tegh

Bahadur camped at Guru Nanak's shrine at Dhubri, Raja Ram Singh camped at Rangamati about fifteen miles from Dhubri.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] James Taylor : Topography and Statistics of Dacca 1840, p 91.

[2] Aulad Hasan : Notes on the antiquities of Dacca p 1, 2.

[3] James Taylor : Topography and Statistics of Dacca, p 92.

[4] "Beyond the Idgah further away from the city lay another centre of interest. Out in the waste half-hidden in bramble growth a well and a broken arch are the only visible signs of a Sikh monastery that once flourished here. The well is known as Guru Nanak's well after Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh Religion. There is a local tradition that the great teacher once visited Dacca and drank from the water of the well, to the waters of which miraculous properties have ever since been attributed.

Bradley Birt : *The Romance of the Eastern Capital :* p 9

"Some three hundred yards to the east of Dara Begum's mausoleum there is a large deep masonry well after Guru Nanak the founder of Sikh Religion. Tradition says that during his visit to Dacca the Guru once drank the water of the well. Since then the water is supposed to possess the properties of curing diseases. There was a monastry close by, one arch of it alone is standing now.

Sayid Aulad Hasan :

Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca, p 2

Also see Ahmed Hasan Dani : *Dacca* p 126-7 ; *Dacca Review,* Vol. V 1915, p 226.

At present the well and the building is being used by a Government servant as living quarter.

[5] Bhai Mani Singh : *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl.*

Dhāke Mohan sev kamānī : Bhai Gurdas : Var 11 *pauḍī* 31.

[6] Almast, son of a Kashmīrī Brahmin named Har Datt was born at Srinagar. He came into contact with Sri Chand and became one of his most trusted missionaries. When Sri Chand handed over his spiritual authority to Baba Gurditta, Almast was made one of the four Cardinals of Udasi ideals of Guru Nanak. He was posted at Nanakmata which remained his headquarters. Later he was asked to revive and reorganise the religious centres established by Guru Nanak in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa which he did with remarkable missionary zeal.

[7] In the Ramana field to the west of the race course, close to the walls of the Shah Bagh garden of Nawab Abdul Gunny there is a Sikh temple called the Nanak Panthi *Akhārā.* It is now in a dilapidated condition. It has a big well in it the water whereof is very sweet. Two or three Nanak Panthi

Sadhus live there quietly and there is nothing to be observed except an old book which they call Granth ji.

Ahmad Hasan Dani : *Dacca* page 122-123

[B] Nearly the whole of the temple is now occupied by unauthorised occupants. They have demolished the *Samādhis* of the saints who served this temple as priests and are keeping it in a very dirty condition. When I brought this to the notice of the Martial Law Administrator Major-General Umrao Khan he assured me that he would get the temple vacated. Sikh leaders send pilgrims and visitors to West Pakistan Shrines twice or thrice every year but they have never sent any pilgrims to the sacred shrines in Dacca to visit which the Pakistan Government is not likely to have any objection. Unfortunately even the Indian Government has never taken up this question seriously with the Pakistan Government. While Sikh shrines in West Pakistan are fairly well preserved, those in East Pakistan, particularly the Nanakpanthi Akhara are being desecrated and their property is being misappropriated. Unfortunately General Umrao Khan was soon transferred and no one brought the grievous desecration of this temple to the notice of the higher authority so that official steps could be taken to put an end to the desecration of this temple. The Morning News, Dacca dated 23 January 1959 published my Interview with the General and his assurance to look into the matter as follows :

"A Sikh Writer, Dr. Trilochan Singh, now on a visit to East Pakistan called on the Major-General Mohammad Umrao Khan and discussed with him the possibilities of greater co-operation between the writers and artists of Pakistan and Bharat.

Dr. Trilochan Singh at present in Dacca is on a three week tour of the province during which he has been collecting material on Sikh Shrines.

In course of his talks with the General, the Sikh Writer acclaimed the policy of the new regime towards religious institutions of the minorities and said that the Government had taken all possible care to maintain their sanctity.

He however mentioned that some "irresponsible" persons had occupied "the Nanak Shahi" temple just behind the Public Library and were keeping the place in an improper manner. The General assured that he would look into the matter and do the needful.

Dr. Trilochan Singh presented some books by Tagore and Dr. Radhakrishnan to the General as a gift. In return the Marshal Law Administrator presented to the Sikh Writer his personal copy of Allama Yousuf Ali's Commentary on the Holy Qur-a-n.

"The Morning News", Dacca, 23 Jan. 1959.

Two years after I left, this irresponsible element has filled the historical well with earth, destroyed all *Samadhis*,

a fact which has been brought to the notice of the Pakistan Government by various Sikh Organizations.

[9] Formerly the Governors of Bangla resided here (Rajmahal) ; it being an excellent country for hunting ; besides that it was a place of great trade. But now the river having taken another course, above a good half-league from the city, as well for that reason, as to keep in awe the King of Aracan and several Portuguese bandits, who are retired to the mouth of the Ganges, both the Governor and the merchants have removed themselves to Dacca, which is at present a large city and a town of great trade.

'Tavernier's *Travels* p 100

[10] When Shaista Khan first came to Bengal Raja Bhagwant Das was his Diwan.

Sayed Muhammed Taifoor : *Glimpses of Old Dhaka*

[11] Rankin : *Dacca Diaries* (1668 A.D.), p 102

[12] When Shah Jahan came to Dacca it took him nine days to reach Dacca from Raj Mahal. Mirza Nathan writes : "On the sixth day after the departure from Akbarnagar alias Rajmahal, the Royal camp was pitched at Yusuf Shahi alias Shahzadpur (in Pabna district). From here on the fourth day, i.e. nine days after departure from Akbarnagar (the prince arrived) in safety and happiness at Jahangirnagar (Dacca).

Baharistan, Vol. II, pp 708-9

[13] Sabastian Manrique (1640) quoted by S. M. Taifoor in *Glimpses of old Dhaka.*

[14] Irvine places the birth of Guru Gobind Singh in 1660 A.D. J.R.A.S.B. (1894) ; Cunningham fixes November 1661 A.D. ; Buteh Shah on the authority of Shanker Jyotish puts it Magh 13, 1718 B.S. (1662 A.D.) ; Randhir Singh on the basis of an alleged *Janam Patri* recorded in a copy of *Dasm Granth* says it is Sambat 1726 B.S. (18th December 1669) which makes the Guru only 2 years old at the time of departure from Patna and about 5 years old at the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom, which is difficult to accept in view of Guru Gobind Singh's own statement that at the time of his father's martyrdom he was fully trained and educated for *dharma* and *karma* responsibilities of Guruship. I have examined the alleged *Dasm Granth.* The copyist has tried to copy some older record of Guru Gobind Singh's birthday which was probably written in the Old style Punjabi Script and which we generally see in the Hukamnamas of the Guru. In copying three sentences he has made about half a dozen mistakes, and he has copied some words without being able to read them. The figure 3 in the year of the birth has been written in such a crude manner that one can either read it as 6 or 3.

In *Sau Sākhī* (translated into English by Attar Singh) a prophecy is given that Guru Gobind Singh would pass away in his forty third year. That brings the normally accepted

date of the year 1666 A.D. Almost all important historical records and *Gurpranālīs* give Posh Sudhi 7, 1723 B.S. or December 22, 1666 A.D. as the correct date.

[15] In two letters written immediately after the birth of Guru Gobind Singh to Patna *Saṅgat* by Guru Tegh Bahadur, the name is clearly given as Gobind Das. Both the letters are quoted and their photostat copies given.

[16] In a composition which he completed in June 1698 A.D. about nine months before he assumed the name of Gobind Singh when the Khalsa was ordained in March 1699 A.D., he has given his name as Gobind Das though the word Das is interpretes by some as servant. In my opinion it is a part of the name.

sagal duār ko chād kai gehīo tuhāro duār,
bāṅh gahai kī lāj as *Gobind Das* tuhār.

Dasm Granth : Ramavtar 864

[17] sarbat Saṅgat Patne kī jin Vāh-Gurū kīā hai tis ke manorath pūre hoveh ge. Gobiṅd Dās kī vadhāī upar Saṅgat kharac kīa, Gurū kī dargāh thāe pāyā ; rupyīe kī mohar thāe paḍī ; piche sevā kītī so thāe pāi, āge jo sevā karo ge tiskā bhālā hog sabh ke rojgār mo barkat hogā. Bhai jī, Siropāo bhejyā hai ; Patnā Gurū kar ghar hai ; Saṅgat kā bhalā hogā.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Letter written from Dacca to Patna.*

[18] I have checked up the family geneologies of all the Hill Chiefs living near about Dhubri who are mostly the kith and kin of Cooch Bihar family. The name of Rattan Rai is not to be found in them. Gouripur state was formed much later and their history begins after Aurangzeb. The names of the Princes of Sylhet and Jantia region end with the word Rai. It is from this region Guru Gobind Singh later acquired war elephants. So it is more probable that this Raja known as Ram Rai father of Rattan Rai was connected with Jaintia Hill Chiefs and not with the Cooch Bihar Princes. He accompanied the Guru to Dhubri and back to Patna and Anandpur.

[19] *Vah-Guru :* is the divine name of God which was first introduced by Guru Nanak. In the *Guru Granth* all allusions such as, *Satnām* (True Name), *gurmukh Nām* (Divine Name), *Śabad* (Word), *mahāmaṅtar* (Supreme Mystic Word), *gurmaṅtar* (The Guru's Mystic Word) refer to this mystic Word : *Vāhguru,* which literally means "Wonderful Light that dispels darkness". This Word is a doctrinal affirmation of Sikh Faith and its significance can be understood only when it becomes an inner spiritual exercise in daily meditation. Then it begins to confer light and grace on the person who comtemplates it *ex opere operato.*

[20] The Emperor and the great nobles were provided with tents in duplicate, one set being sent on to the next camping

ground while the other set was in use (Bernier 359). The tents thus sent on were known as the peshkhana (literally) advance tents.

William Irvine:
"The Army of The Indian Moghals", p 195

[21] Patne kī Saṅgat Gurū rakhe gā; Gurū Gurū japnā; janam saurega, Saṅgat kā bhalā hovai; jin Sikh Vah-Gurū kīya hai sabhnā ke manorath Gurū pure kare gā; Patnā Gurū ka ghar hai, Saṅgat ki bahuḍī hog; Saṅgat sevā Gobind Dās kī kartī hai, tumarī sevā Sangat kī Guru kī Dargah thāe paḍe gī, Saṅgat kā bhalā hog, je pare te Bhāi Rajā de pās te derā ayā hovai taṅ bhejnā; ik suhelā, tīn kanatā, ik peshkhānā, khāse dere nū bhejnā, tīn kanātā, ik kalandrī, panjgazī hor bhejnā; andar dā derā kanātā hor sai Bhai Mul Mehre havale karnā. Guru Saṅgat kī bahuḍī kare gā; Patna Gurū ka ghar hai.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's—*Letter written from Dacca to Patna Saṅgat.*

[22] The following inscription is found engraved on two main entrance doors of the building which is now known as Maini Saṅgat:

"Ik Oṁkār satnām kartāpurkh, nirbhau nirvair akāl mūrat ajūni saibhaṁ gurparsād: Saṁbat 1725 Asu. Vadi 10."

[23] A letter of Guru Gobind Singh written to Dacca, Sylhet, Chittagong and Sondip Sangat reads as follows:

"Sri Gurū jīo dī āgyā hai, Bhai Hulās Chaṅd Bakhshish Chand sarbat Dhāke kī, Saṅgat Chitganv kī, Saṅgat Sondīt kī, Saṅgat Sylhet kī. Sarbat Saṅgat Guru rakhegā, hachā hāthī jangī bhejnā aval, Saṅgat nihāl hoi."

Guru Gobind Singh's—*Letter written from Anandpur.*

[24] The places visited by the Guru during this tour and their record preserved by history and tradition clearly indicate that Guru Tegh Bahadur came from Sylhet to Chittagong by this route. If Guru Tegh Bahadur visited Chittagong first then he must have gone north by this very route to Sylhet. We have letters of Guru Gobind Singh not only asking the Bengali Sikhs to send money and weapons but also to participate in the freedom fight.

[25] Dacca Review January 1916, p 321

[26] Diwan Mohan Singh was no less a pious Sikh than a brave soldier and an able administrator. He made good his opportunity and established more than a dozen *Sangats* within his jurisdiction and attached jagirs to one and all of them.

G. B. Singh, *Dacca Review*, Nov. 1915

[27] A remarkable revival of these relations is now actively taken up by the Sikh Cultural Centre, Calcutta, publishers of the well-known magazine Sikh Review and their activities are

extended to villages also. Literature on Sikhism sells much better amongst the non-Sikhs of Bengal than among the non-Sikhs of Punjab.

[28] Raja Jai Singh was poisoned by his own younger son on the instigation of Aurangzeb in the hope of getting the rulership of Jaipur but was given only a village as jagir.

[29] At this time it was learnt from the news reports of Bengal that the wretched Assamese had attacked Gauhati on the boundary of Bengal, with a vast army and a large flotilla and that as reinforcement had not reached Sayyid Firuz Khan, the enemy had conquered Gauhati and the aforesaid Khan had bravely sacrificed his life with many of his comrades. The Emperor decided that one of the great and eminent nobles of the court should be deputed to Bengal. Therefore Raja Ram Singh was appointed to perform this exploit. On Friday, the 27th December, 1667 (21st Rajab) he was sent off with a robe, a horse with gold trappings, and a jewelled dagger with pearly strap. Nasiri Mairtia, Brahmdeo Sisodea and many other nobles and mansabdars, 1,500 ahadis and 500 barqandazes were appointed under him.

Saqi Mustad Khan : *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*
Bibliotheca edition : p 43

[30] Memorandum containing an account of Raja Ram Singh's campaigns in Assam. Jaipur State Records.

[31] S. K. Bhuyan : *Annals of Delhi Badshahate.*

[32] The names of these five Pirs were : Shah Akbar, Shah Bagmar, Shah Saran, Shah Safi and Shah Kamal. There is a Muslim shrine still at Dhubri, known as Panchpirar Dargah, where the remains of Shah Akbar are buried.

S. K. Bhuyan : *New Lights on Mogal India from Assamese Sources : Islamic Culture* for July 1928 pp 385-386.

[33] S. K. Bhuyan : *Annals of the Delhi Badshahate : (Padshāh* Burañjī), p 166.

[34] This is quite evident from the copies of the Judicial records in the possession of the author.

[55] The generally accepted name is Rattan Rai. Some new historical record supports the theory that his name was Anup Rai. The presence of this name in Guru Gobind Singh's letters to Dacca and neighbouring Saňgats would further support the theory that Raja Ram Rai belonged to nothern Bengal and not to Dhubri area of Assam. This area was also known to the Punjabis as Kamarup.

Major Arjun Singh Mann in his pamphlet *Guru Tegh Bahadur and Assam Pradesh,* suggests that this Rattan Rai was the same as Raja Rattan Manikya of Tripura State. The suggestion can hardly be accepted for the following two reasons :

1. Rattan Rai Guru Gobind Singh's disciple was the only son of his father Ram Rai while Ram Manikya of Tripura

had four sons: Ratna Manikya, by his principal wife and Durjai Singh, Ghanssyam and Chandermani by his three unmarried consorts.

2. The date of Raja Ratna Manikya as given in Tripura Barunji is 1698-1712 A.D. Even if we take the date 1698 A.D. as the year of his becoming the ruler, his date of birth would then be 1691 A.D. because his father died when he was only 1. But Rattan Rai, disciple of Guru Gobind Singh, was born some time in the year 1667 A.D. being only a year younger than Guru Gobind Singh himself, and he met Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur with gifts of a white elephant, a five in one weapon (still preserved in Baroda Museum) long before 1691, i.e., the birth of Rattan Manikya.

[36] The minimum distance which the Mughal army covered in a day was 5-6 miles. The total distance of about 200 miles might easily have been covered during this period as there was no major halting place on the way from Dacca to Dhubri.

[37] Jadunath Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb III,* p 213; J.A.S.B. 1872, p 97; H. C. Goswami: *Purani Buranji,* pp. 138-139.

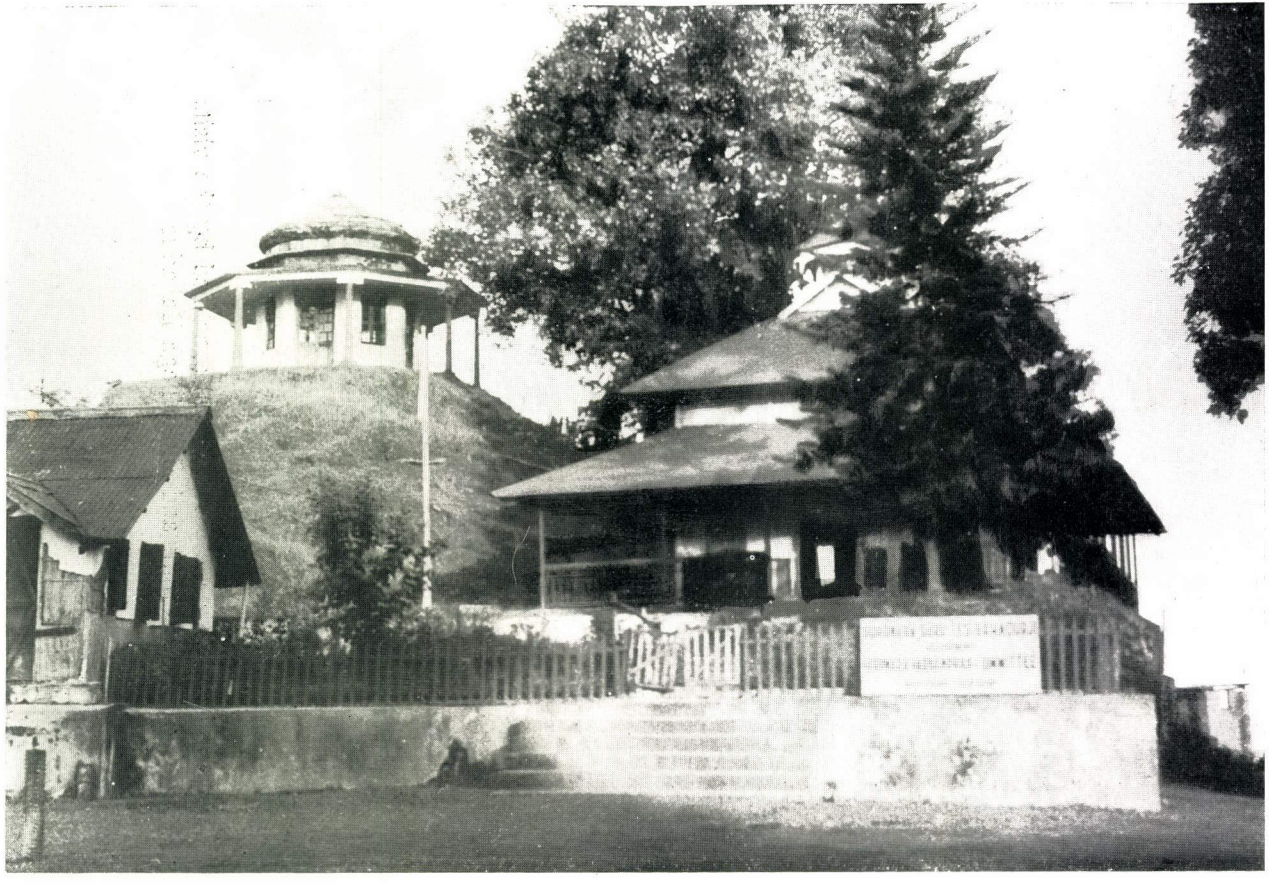
CHAPTER XVIII

KAMARUP: THE LAND OF MAGIC AND BEAUTY PEACE THROUGH CO-EXISTENCE

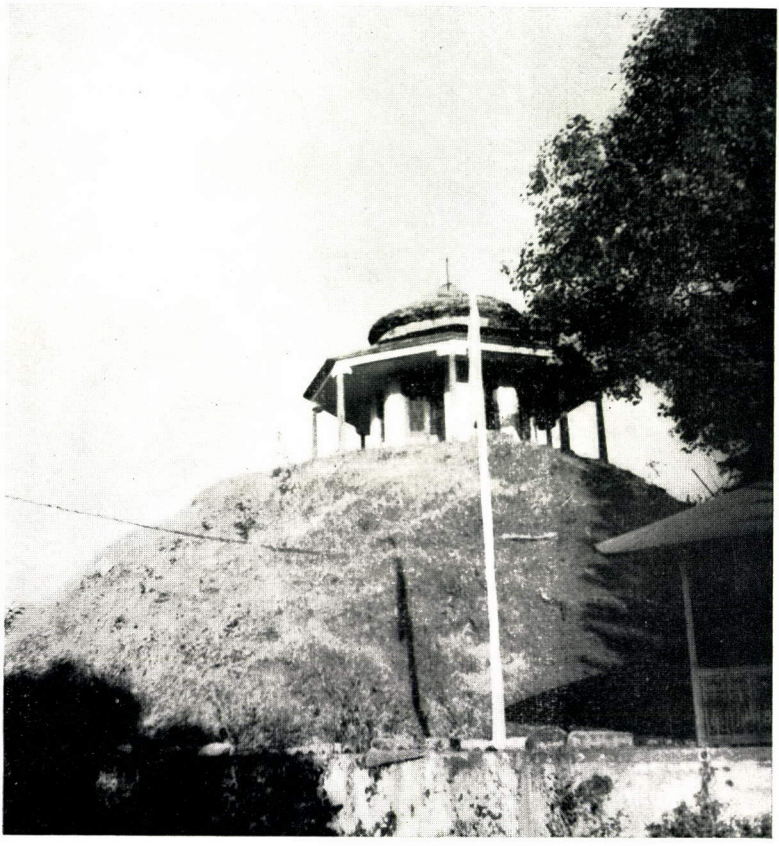
THE country known as Pragjyotisha (the land of eastern astrology) in ancient times, and as Kamarupa (the land of Cupid[1]) in the medieval period, came to be known as Ahom (Assam), when in the thirteenth century the country was over-run by a band of hardy hill tribe called Ahom, an offshoot of the great Tai (Thai) or Shan race of Burma.[2] Even the records of this intensely history-conscious tribe reveals a profound philosophy of God and His creation resembling, the Nasadiya hymn of Rig Veda and the Creation hymn of Guru Nanak: "In the beginning, it is said, there were neither gods nor men, animals nor living things. There was no earth, no air, no sun, no moon, no stars, but water only. There was a Supreme Being called Pha, from whom great Light emanated, but he had no corporal existence."[3]

This region came to be known as Kamarupa during the Puranic times based on the legend that Kamadeva, the god of love was destroyed by the fiery glance of Shiva but returned to life in this country. Poet Kali Das refers to this region in his dramas as Kamarupa, and the Chinese Pilgrim Yuan Chwang (7th Century) calls it Kamalupo.[4]. The Sikh *Janam Sakhis* call it Kamrup or Kaurodesh.

It was during the reign of Ahom King Suhungmung, who, under the influence of Brahmins, assumed the Hindu title Svarga Narayan, that Guru Nanak visited this land of magic and beauty. On the way of Kamakhya, Guru Nanak stopped at Dhubri and it was during this itinerary that Guru Nanak met the great Vaishnava saint, Sankaradeva. So strong was the influence of Guru Nanak on Sankaradeva that upto this day this Vaishnava sect shows contempt for idolatry, and caste pride, and like the Sikhs worships the Holy Book. The meeting between Guru Nanak and Sankaradeva is accepted as a historical fact by all biographers of the great Saint.[5] The Muslim chronicler Mohammed Kazim writes: "There is another chain of hills inhabited by a tribe called Nanak, who pay no taxes and revenue to the Raja but profess allegiance



Historic Shrine, *Damdama Sahib,* Dhubri (Assam) built jointly by the Mughal and Assamese armies to commemorate the peace brought about by Guru Tegh Bahadur between them



The Mound of Peace, Dhubri (Assam) sanctified by the visits of Guru Nanak and Guru Tegh Bahadur

to him and obey a few of his orders.[6] It is quite possible that this tribe was the Sikh community of Assam, that is still found in many isolated villages, and is proud of its Assamese nationality and culture. They have preserved the Sikh traditions in an absolutely pure form.

Tantric religion and occultism were so deep rooted in Kamarup that it influenced both Vaishnavism and Buddhism and gave rise to what later came to be known as Tantric Vaishnavism and Tantric Buddhism. Charms and witchcraft have their roots in Vedic Religion. "In the Rig Veda we come across strange utterances of incantations, and spells, charms, and witchcrafts, hymns to inanimate things, devils and demons. Though sorcery and magic prevailed in the times of the Rig Vedic seers, they did not encourage or recognise them."[7] The science of demonology has existed ever since then, and has been developed into a highly elaborate study, full of philosophy and sorcery, by various Tantric Schools. Kamarup and a good portion of Bengal became the storm centre of its theory and practice.

"The people of the rest of India", says a Muslim chronicler, "consider the natives of Kamarup as wizards and magicians. They believe that every person who sets his foot there is under the influence of witchcraft and cannot find the road to return."[8] Shihabudin Talish, who visited Assam only about five years before Guru Tegh Bahadur went there, writes : "Narrow are the gates by which outsiders can enter, or issue from this country, and lame are the feet on which its natives can go to other countries. Every army that entered the limits of this country, made its exist from the realm of life ; every caravan that set foot on this land, deposited its baggage of residence in the halting place of death. And as no one who entered this country, like visitors to the realm of death, ever returned, and the manners of its natives were never made known to any outsider, the people of Hindustan used to call the inhabitants of Assam sorcerers and magicians. They say that whoever visits this country is overcome by charms, and never comes out of it. In the former times, whenever an army turned towards this country for raids and conquest, as soon as it reached the frontier, the wretches (Ahoms) made night attacks, and if night attacks failed they destroyed everything, and left not a man to inhabit a house,

or kindle a fire in the tract. Then the wretches descending from hill tops like the flood, infested the army on all sides . . . large armies have been drowned in this terrible eddy and shoreless whirlpool."[9]

"The beauty of the women of this place is very great; their magic, enchantment, and use of spells and jugglery are greater than one can imagine. By the use of magic, they build houses of which the pillars and ceilings are made of men. These men remain alive but do not have the power of breathing and moving. By the power of magic, they also turned men into quadrupeds and birds, so that these men get tails and ears like those of beasts. They conquer the hearts of whomever they like. Cutting open the womb of a woman of full pregnancy, they take out the child, and read its future."[10]

The Ahom ruler Jayadhraj Singh died in 1653 A.D. He was succeeded by a new monarch Supungmung who assumed the Hindu name Chakradhwaj Singh.[11] He had a wise Prime Minister, Atan Buragohai and an able commander-in-Chief, Lachit Barpukhan, whose father rose from the position of a peasant to the Lord Chief Justice of the land. King Chakradhwaj Singh made extensive preparations to recover Gauhati from the Mughals. For him it was a fight against the Muslim foreigners for the protection of the Brahmin and the cow, symbolising Hinduism.[12] There were very few Muslims, and they were not allowed to say their prayers in public or call the name of God aloud from the minaret. Even Bengalis were looked on with suspicion.[13] At midnight, on Thursday, Kartik 17, 1589 Saka, or November 2, 1667 or near about, the contiguous Mughal garrison of Gauhati fell into the hands of the Ahoms. On receiving the news of his victory the Ahom King Chakradhwaj Singh cried out: "It is now that I can eat my morsel of food with ease and pleasure!"

It was to reconquer Gauhati and the old frontiers that Raja Ram Singh was sent.[14] From Malda he brought with him five Sufi Pirs, Shah Akbar, Shah Bagmar, Shah Saran, Shah Safi and Shah Kamal. At Dacca, he had requested Guru Tegh Bahadur to accompany him, who readily agreed because after completing his Bengal Missionary tour, he wished to go to Assam to revive the religious centre built to commemorate the visit of Guru Nanak to this land of

magic and beauty. Together Raja Ram Singh and Guru Tegh Bahadur marched along the river Brahmaputra and reached Dhubri early in February 1669 A.D.[15] Guru Tegh Bahadur camped at Dhubri while Raja Ram Singh camped at Rangamati.

The Imperial Army was confident of its strength, but was not as yet sure whether the holy men with them would be able to destroy the evil effects of magic, and witchcraft. The Ahoms were unnerved by the superior strength of the Imperial army, but they were confident that the supernatural powers of their magicians backed by tactful resistance would keep the enemy away. Gauhati was the bone of contention. For the Ahoms it was the seat of their faith and culture, the city of the great Kamakhya temple, the soul of their dharma and very existence. They offered sacrifices at the Kamakhya temple, and prayed to the deity : "O Mother, eat up the foreigners, and protect all our people".[16] Lachit Barpukhan, the Commander-in-Chief, consulted two astrologers, Churamani and Sarbar, about the future of their struggle, and the appropriate time for attack.[17] The magic women, expert in witchcraft were collected under the leadership of a washerwoman (only low caste women practised magic),[18] and sent to Goalpara to do all in their power to frighten and scare not only the Imperial army but also the holy men accompanying them. The magic woman pitched her camp just opposite Guru Tegh Bahadur's camp at Dhubri. Only the waters of the river separated them. According to some accounts she was far off at a greater distance. She sat there with her Tantric paraphernalia and began reciting the *mantras* of destruction. At first she raised fire and storm, as did the Yogis of Achal Batala to frighten Guru Nanak, but like Guru Nanak, Guru Tegh Bahadur remained undisturbed.[19] He asked everyone to keep thinking of God and no harm would come to any one. The demonic powers dare not come near men armed with the wisdom and light of God. The five *Pirs* prayed side by side with the disciples of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The magic women were too confident about their powers over natural forces and their ability to destroy any human being. Across the river they hurled a 26 feet long stone, the four sides of whose girt measured 36 inches × 28 inches × 28 inches × 33 inches. The stone came swinging across the sky

like a missile, and struck the ground near Guru Tegh Bahadur's camp so hard, that nearly half of it went into the ground, and the other half, about 13 feet, remained sticking out of the ground, at an angle of about 50 degrees. It can still be seen in the same position today. Even the present day officials say, that when some British officials tried to destroy it, blood oozed out of it. It has therefore been left unmolested under official instructions.[20] Then the miracle woman flung a tree, which fell very close to Guru Tegh Bahadur's camp without causing injury to any one. The roots of the tree are still shown to be lying mostly outside the ground, while it took new roots in the place where it struck.[21] Guru Tegh Bahadur took a bow and arrow and aimed an arrow at the altar of magic. There ended all their magic and sorcery. Some superior power appeared to have completely deprived them of their strength, and will-power. They were unnerved. Their leader, the washerwoman, now wanted to see the holy Man who was so powerful as to undo her magic without showing any magical miracle. She came to the Guru, and begged forgiveness for having offended him. She was only fighting the foreigner, she said, with the only weapon at her command, of which her people were proud. She begged the Guru not to destroy the monuments of her miracles ; the stone and the tree. Guru Tegh Bahadur then asked her to give up her Tantric exploits of wasting her vital energy in destructive forces. He assured her that he would try to bring about peace between Raja Ram Singh and the Ahom King, for which a change of heart was necessary on both sides. He also promised her that no Sikh would ever destroy the monuments of her miracle. This was the end of the Ahom threats of magic and miracle. Guru Tegh Bahadur advised Raja Ram Singh to try to achieve his end through negotiation, and peace, and not to fight unless he were provoked to do it.

The Ahom chief was the first to send a conciliatory message, though he did so only to postpone an immediate encounter for which he was not fully prepared. Pressed by Guru Tegh Bahadur, Raja Ram Singh asked the Ahoms to honour the treaty which they had signed with Allah Yar Khan and to evacuate Gauhati. Thereafter he would not harm them, nor wrest any more of their territory. The Ahom

General refusing to hand over Gauhati at any cost, said: "War is not the only method of settling the issue. We have four avenues mentioned in the scriptures: conciliation, gifts, dissension and open rupture." At this point the wily Brahmin astrologers misguided them by giving exact dates of their fight and subsequently victory, and the Assamese intensified their preparations.[22]

Dispelling all fear of magic and miracles, Guru Tegh Bahadur moved to various places preaching his faith in the love of One God, pure living and the transience of earthly glory. The rulers of Cooch Bihar were the kith and kin of Ram Singh, so they treated Guru Tegh Bahadur with the same profound respect with which he was admired and worshipped by the Amber princes. While both the armies were preparing for a fight against his advice, he moved on to Cooch Bihar, Chanderbhanga, Kishenganj and Purnea. There is definite local historical evidence about Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit to these places. Some families whose ancestors received the Guru are still to be found in Purnea and Kishengarh, but I did not get any historical evidence of the Guru's visit to Katihar, although according to local tradition, there is a belief that he visited Katihar, and some more neighbouring places."

In March 1669, the Emperor on the occasion of his birthday raised the rank of Ram Singh to that of *Panj Hazari.* On Chaitra 21, 1590 Saka or near about April 3, 1669 Ram Singh marched up to Agiathuti on the river bank. Rashid Khan pitched his tent facing the Ahom fort at Sarai or Amingaon. The guns on both sides began to discharge their contents. Ram Singh's nephew was killed by an arrow; and a cannon-shot made a breach in the tent of the Rajput general. The battle ended without any decisive result. "Ram Singh invited Rashid to his tent to confer on the situation. Rashid Khan was enjoying a musical soiree with dancing and high revelry. He refused to obey his Chief's command; and on the other hand dispatched a friendly letter to the Ahom commander, Miri Sandhikai. Ram Singh could not brook this growing impertinence of Rashid Khan. He cut off the ropes of his tent and asked him to leave at once."[23]

"The rainy season drew near. The Assamese found themselves in their own element, and there was marked change in their favour. Though they had scored a few victories they

resolutely stuck to their strongholds of Agiathuti, Srighat and Pandu in the face of protracted seige by the Mughals; the balance of fighting for the three months preceding the rains was distinctly in their favour. The Mughals had triumphantly marched to the borders of Kamarup and had confined the Assamese to a few strongholds around Gauhati, the fall of which soon appeared to be imminent. Ram Singh withdrew with his main army to Hajo."[24]

As soon as the rains ended the Assamese resorted to night attacks which annoyed Ram Singh so much that he wrote to Lachit Barapukhan; "Being unable to match with us you are adopting tricks employed only by thieves, just as jackals contrive the death of wild elephants. No honour accrues in fighting with such dotards. So I am not going to fight any longer."[25]

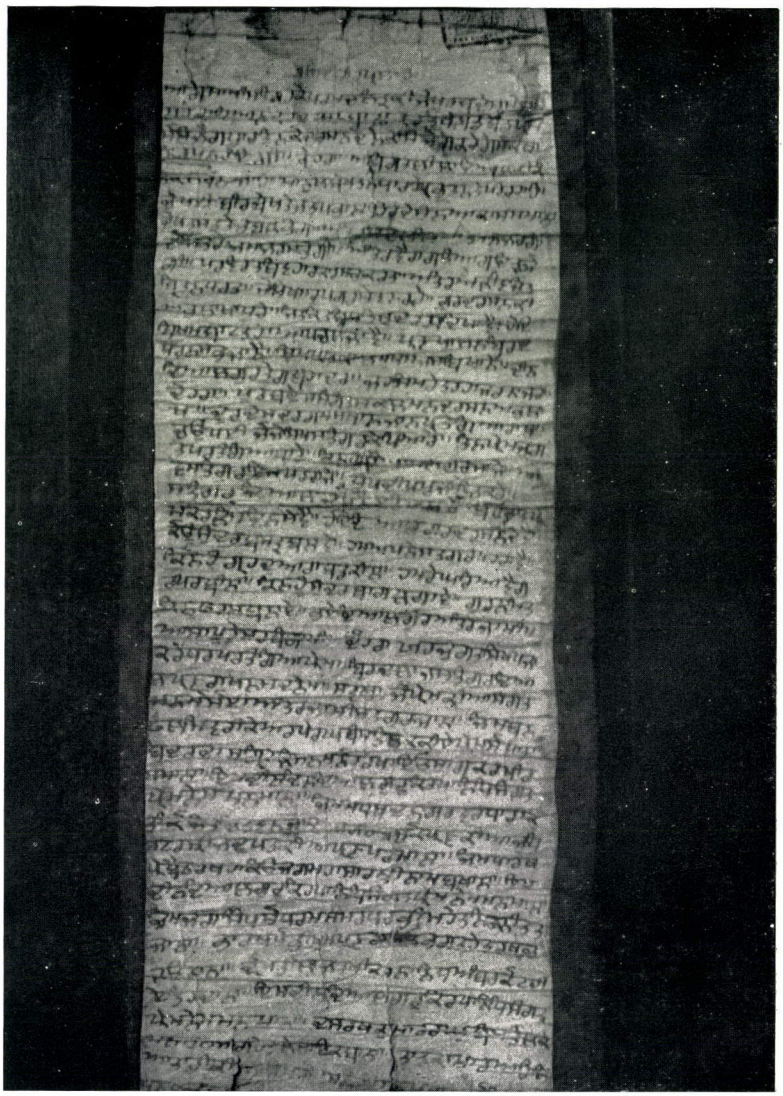
The Assamese commanders gradually realised that their guerilla attacks, and spoliation, could not achieve any definite result beyond harassing the enemy. They avoided land fights as far as possible and, were specially shy before cavalry charges. They believed that one fully armed horse-soldier of the Mughals could easily disperse, and rout an Assamese force of one hundred men. They greatly dreaded the prospect of land-fights, but they kept their fears to themselves."[26]

Guru Tegh Bahadur returned from his tour of Cooch Bihar and northern Bihar. Raja Ram Singh and other generals were delighted to see the Guru back amongst them. Guru Tegh Bahadur had about fifty Sikhs with him most of whom were well trained warriors. Yet Guru Tegh Bahadur did not allow any one of his men to fight on either side. He stood for peace, and settlement through negotiations. To prevent bloodshed Raja Ram Singh challenged the Ahom King, Chakradhwaj Singh, to fight a duel in the presence of the two hostile armies. The Ahom King dismissed the insolent challenge by simply saying, "Ram Singh is a mere servant and he has no umbrella over his head. So I do not like to fight a duel with such a man."[27]

At this stage, Ram Singh received a very depressing news, which made him reflect seriously over the policy and character of his treacherously cruel master, Aurangzeb. When he left Delhi the Emperor had kept his son, Krishen Singh, as hostage at his court. He now received a letter from his widowed



The Magic Stone which was thrown at Guru Tegh Bahadur
by the Tantric Women Conjurers of Kamakhya (Assam)



The Kamakhya Document

mother saying : "The Patshah contrived the death of Krishen Singh by making him wrestle with tigers. Such is his friendship for us. We have obtained sufficient fame and religious merit by subjugating other countries, and making them accept the domination of the *Patshah*. Never think that the subjugation of the eastern kingdom (Assam) will add to our longevity and prosperity."[28]

The reverses which the Ahom King had suffered had toned down their zeal for further warfare. The letter from his mother had damped the enthusiasm of Raja Ram Singh also. At this opportune time, Guru Tegh Bahadur, who was equally respected by the Mughal Generals and the Ahom Kings, sent his envoy to negotiate peace on honourable terms. Guru Tegh Bahadur was known to be a prophet who was independent minded. It was also well known that his father had defeated the Mughal forces in the heart of Punjab four times. A negotiated settlement was reached in which Raja Ram Singh no longer pressed his demand for Guhati. Guru Tegh Bahadur was asked to mark the new boundary line between the two forces. Both the Mughals and the Assamese agreed to coexist without interfering in each other's territory. The happy occasion of the peace settlement was celebrated by a joint homage to the Shrine of Guru Nanak, by both the Mughal and the Ahom armies. The Mound of Peace at Dhubri was erected with the red earth brought by the soldiers of both the armes on their shields. This permanent monument to Guru Tegh Bahadur's successful peace efforts stands at Dhubri to this day. The very earth of this mound shows that it is not to be found anywhere near Dhubri. It was brought by the Hindu and Muslim soldiers of the Mughal and Assamese armies from Rangamati and other adjoining areas.[29]

The Ahom King invited Guru Tegh Bahadur to the Kamakhya shrine. A fragment of the historical record describing Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit to the Ahom kingdom survives to this day in the Kamakhya temple and is preserved by a Panda, who claims that his ancestors came from Amritsar. A large portion of this document was destroyed by a fire that raged in the Kamakhya temple some years ago. The fragment preserved reads as follows :

"Now I relate the story of the glorious life of the true Guru : People in the distant East were longing and eagerly

waiting for a glimpse of the true Guru. Seeing their great devotion, the Guru came to the east to fulfil their desires. It is this story of his visit to the distant land of Assam, I describe in this narrative."

"Inscrutable are the ways of the merciful Guru; it is impossible to describe his wonderful life story. He is a god in human flesh, and yet he has not the slightest attachment. With a calm courage and a sun-like splendour, his heart ever rests in *Sunya,* the silence of self-realisation. On seeing him the strength of his enemy and opponents failed. Pure like the holy Ganges, he lives in the joy of divine contemplation. From outside he appears to be a King indulging in all the luxury and joy of princely life. At heart he is detached, exalted in spirit, firm in his concentration of mind like, the Yogis. He performs all the worldly duties like a worldly man. Within his heart his mind remains poised on thoughts of God. The seekers of Truth, who were eager to meet the Prophet of Light, now had their desires fulfilled. He travelled into the most difficult regions, suffered the hardship of strenuous journey in far flung regions of the East, just to meet the humble and patient seekers of Truth. Somehow or the other he reached these far flung regions, and fulfilled the eternal promise of God, proclaiming that the prophet will knock at the door of every seeker of truth. Everywhere devotees sing his praises. Whoever remembers the merciful Enlightener, Guru Tegh Bahadur, finds that he is there with him, ever present. The *Sangats* of the East were craving for a glimpse of the Guru. Now Guru Tegh Bahadur has crossed mountains, rivers, and undergone great physical strain to reach his devotees of the East and bless them. In every region of the East, every home, every seeker of truth was devoutly making preparations at home, in the hope that the Guru would divine their secret wish to meet him, and come to them. Day and night people prayed in every region of the East that Guru Tegh Bahadur might come to their homes and bless them."[30]

This rare document (see photostat copy) gives clearly the purpose of Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit to Bengal and Assam.[31] Unfortunately this fragment of a larger document is only the introductory portion of a bigger work giving the details of his visit to Assam. The family tradition of the man who has

preserved it says that it was written by a disciple who accompanied Guru Tegh Bahadur and was posted as a missionary in the Ahom Kingdom with his headquarters at the Kamakhya temple. The man belonged to Amritsar district.

Guru Tegh Bahadur came back to Dhubri to bid farewell to his friend Raja Ram Singh. The Guru gave gifts to all the Rajput and Mughal Officers personally known to him. Along with the *siropao,* the robe of honour, he gave special and rare swords to Raja Ram Singh and a few of his prominent generals. One of these has fortunately been preserved in the Baroda Museum.[32] A great feast was held at the parting to which Guru Tegh Bahadur invited all the soldiers. Each soldier made some offering to Guru Tegh Bahadur. The total amount of money offered by the Mughal soldiers amounted to about seven lakhs, according to one historical record.[33] The Guru did not keep the money with him except only the amount that was absolutely necessary for his travel expenses. He spent all he had, and all that had been offered to him for the welfare of the people. Dhubri the resting place of Guru Nanak, also became the resting place of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and it was better known to the Assamese historians as Damdama. The Sikhs of Dhubri were known as *Damdamyas* and their help was sought in all freedom fights of the Assamese against aggressors. Even during the Anglo Assamese War the *Damdamya* Sikhs of Dhubri played a significant role by fighting for the Assamese.[34]

Guru Tegh Bahadur left Assam early in the year 670 A.D., about three months before the death of Raja Chakardhwaj Singh which took place in April 1670 A.D.[35]

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] K. L. Barua : *Early History of Kāmarupa* p, 1, 9, 11
[2] Edward Gait : *"A History of Assam* p 70-71
[3] ibid
[4] K. L. Barua : *An Early History of Kāmarupa* p. 9, 11
[5] *Life of Sankar Deva* by S. K. De
[6] Mohammed Kazim : *A Description of Assam : Asiatic Researches* Vol II, p 181
[7] Radhakrishnan : *Indian Philosophy* Vol I, p 118
[8] Mohammed Kazim : *A description of Assam : Asiatic Researches* Vol II, p 181

[9] Shihabuddin Talish : *Fathiyh-i-ibraiyh* J. B. O. S. S. 1915, 194

[10] Sujan Rai : *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārikh*

[11] Edward Gait : *A History of Assam* p 151

[12] The Brahmin being the repository of Hinduism, and the cow being sacred to the Hindus, the words Cow and Brahmin, or *tilak* (frontal marks) and the sacred thread (*janeū*) are symbols of Hinduism, without which it was deemed that Hinduism could not survive.

[13] The Mohamedans who had come from the Islamic lands engaged in the performance of prayer and fasting, but were forbidden to chant the call to prayer or publicaly recite the word of God. They shave their hair, bread and moustaches. If any of the natives acts country to this practice in the least particular, they say he has adopted the manners of the Bengalis and they cut his head off.

Shihabuddin Talish : *Fatiyah-i-ibriyah*

[14] As a further piece of revenge for the flight of Shivaji Aurangzeb ordered Ram Singh, the Raja's oldest son, to proceed upon the conquest of Assam, simply in the hope of getting rid of him, knowing what had happened there to the great Mir Jumla.

Niccolao Manucci : *Storia de Moghol* Vol. II, p 153

[16] Guru Tyāg Mal kayām mukām Guru Nānak, dar Assām harrāh baikuṅṭhgāhī Maharaja Ram Singh jio būd.

Guru Tyag Mal successor of Guru Nanak was with the late Maharaja Ram Singh in Assam.

Akhbārāt Darbār Maulā (Bā-ehid Bahadur Shah)

[16] S. K. Bhuyan : *Lachit Barapukan and His Times* p. 37 ; *Assam Barunji* MSS 12

[17] *ibid*

[18] sunat jokhta hovai kar tyar,
āpo apne maṅtar smbhār
dhoban kumhrerī, camrerī,
ītādik jātan kī cerī
nrip ke kahe sakal cal āī
kinhū caḍh kar bhīt dhvāī.
kitak bhyānak rūp dikhāvaiṅ
ko suṅder ban ṭhān kar āvaiṅ
cāli āe sabh bīc akās
laśkar ko upavai trās.

Sūraj Prākāsh : Rās 12, *Aṅsū* 7.

[19] "At one period of his (Guru Nanak's) career when he visited Watalah the Jogiswaras, who were recluses, that by means of corporeal mortifications were supposed to have acquired command over the powers of nature, were so enraged against him that they strove to terrify him by their enchantments assuming the shapes of tigers and serpents, but they could not succeed, for Nanak appears to have been a real philo-

sopher who taught pure theism and inculcated universal peace and toleration."

Catherine Corvai : *Night Side of Nature* p 269

rup vatāyā jogyīaṅ singh bāgh bahu calit dikhāi,
ik par karke udran paṅkhiṅ jivaiṅ rahe lilāi,
ik nāg hoe pavan chod iknā varkhā agan vasāī
tāre toḍe bhangarnāth ik ud mirgānī jal tar jāi

... ...

sidh taṅtar maṅtar kar jhad pae Sabad Gurū ke kalā chipāī

Bhai Gurdas *Var I* pauḍi 41, 42

This was exactly the attitude taken by Guru Tegh Bahadur. The illusionary magic of the Women Tantrics fell flat before the light of reality and truth which Guru Tegh Bahadur's mind and soul radiated.

[20] About 13 feet and 3 inches length of the stone, with a girth : 36″ × 28″ × 28″ × 33″ is outside the ground. About this much is within the ground. (See photostat copy). It is the existence of this stone which is a convincing proof evidence of this historical fact.

[21] The tree is there. It is like any other tree. There is no concrete evidence about its being a magical tree. There is however a very strong evidence about its being planted when the Mound of Peace was built.

[22] S. K. Bhuyan : *Lachit Barphukan And His Times* and *Assam Barunji* MSS 12

[23] *ibid* 52

[24] *ibid* p 52 *Assam Barunji S*.M. p 37

[25] *ibid* p 58

[26] *ibid* p 63

[27] Golap Chandra Barua : *Assam Barunji p 208-209*

[28] Letter of Raja Jai Singh's widow quoted by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in his book *Lachit Barphukan* p 116-117

[29] At the instance of Tegh Bahadur the soldiers raised a mound on the top of a hillok situated on the bank of Brahmaputra, each man putting in five shields of earth. A pavilion was also erected on the mound. This place has now become the famous Gurudwara Damdama at Dhubri and is visited by numerous pilgrims. Crowds came long distances to have the darshans of the Guru and to obtain from him blessings for the fulfilment of their desires. The Guru was held in very great veneration throughout the country.

ibid.

The Kamrup King tried various means of magical powers but all failed. He also gathered round him all the women of the Kingdom but their witchcraft also failed. He was then convinced that there must be some great man in the army for whom all his powers failed. He then went to the Kamakhya temple and offered prayers. One night in dream, goddess Kamakhya told the royal mother that the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, the incarnation of God had come with Raja Ram

Singh. So the King of Kamrup should go to him and ask for his forgiveness. The King did accordingly.

At the invitation of the King of Kamrup the Guru arrived in the capital of the kingdom in the company of Raja Ram Singh. There, at the instance of the Guru, peace was made between Ram Singh and the King of Kamrup and as a mark of friendship they exchanged their turbans. The King then implored the Guru to leave behind some permanent sign of his august visit. The Guru shot an arrow at a banyan tree and the arrow pierced the tree. In the capital of Kamrup. Dhubri, Gurudev told Ram Singh's officers that as the place was sanctified by the visit of Guru Nanak every soldier should bring five basket full of earth and erect a memorial to perpetuate the visit of Guru Nanak. Soon the task was accomplished. Some of the Gurudev's disciples stayed behind in Kamrup and their descendents are still in Dhubri and Chololo.

Dr. Banikanta Kakati : Purānī Kamrupār Dharm Dhārā Ch : xxxi.

Gurūji farmāya jithe asiṅ baithe hāṅ, ethe Gurū Nānakjī kise samai baiṭhe se, so ik ik dhāl mitī dī sabh ehai pāo tān unāh dā damdamā ban jāe.

Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā, p 270.

[30] ik Oṁkār satgurpraśād

āge Sakhī satgurū ke param calitar kī, jo pūrab des mo satgur kā dhyān kar darśan bāchā karte the, baḍo baḍo prem so saṅjog dhār tin ko darśan dene kā saṅjog kare ge so kathā nirūpan hoe gī : *dohrā*

abigat lilā kī kautak lakhe na jāe
manukh bekh tān dhar prabhū tan te pare rahāh

chaupaī

bir bekh tej tāp bhānā
hirdai sunyā akāś amānā
dekhat satrū tej bāl bhaṅgā
aṅtar..... māno ... Gangā
dīsat rāj sāj ras bhogī
antar vairāg tyāg rīd jogī
parvīrt bivhār kar sabh kartā
antār akrīv cīṅt britn dhartā
jo sikh sarūp gur sevan kare
Gur darśan kī abhilākhā dhare
jit kit bidh tīs daras dikhāvai
hoe bikham bāt tahāṅ āp cal jāvai
paritpālan bird dharan sabh jānai
sikh prātkal mukh sujas bakhāne
din dayāl Gur Tegh Bahādur
jeh simrai teh hāzar nāzar

dohra

purab des Saṅgat sakal man darśan abhīlakhā
dur des durgam sthān jān pratagyā rākhā.

chaupaī

jo jo sikh satgūr ke pyāre
tin prem jugat prtagyā dhāre
kinhū singhāsan gureh sāje
ave satgūr īs par rāje
dhūp dīp pujā nij kāre
satgūr dyāl caran ihāñ dhare
bahu bhāñt prem kar nīs din sevai
hoe dayāl Gur darśan devai.

see photostat copy.

[31] The irrefutable fact that Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied Raja Ram Singh to Assam from Dacca has been interpreted one or two centuries afterwards in a fantastic way. Some non-Sikh historians could not distinguish Guru Hari Krishen from Guru Tegh Bahadur. Probably they did not hear about the former. Aurangzeb's summon and arrest of Guru Hari Krishen and Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh's intervention are attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur. The author of *Pādshāh Barūñjī* writes about a Nanak Panthi Guru who took up arms against the Mughals which refers to Guru Tegh Bahadur's father and not to him. No Guru escaped from Aurangzeb's prison. The Badhshah Buaranji does not mention the name of Guru Tegh Bahadur. His summary of fifty years of Sikh history in about 15 lines without mentioning name of any Guru or any date, is extremely misleading.

Guru Tegh Bahadur and his Sikhs did not participate in the battle. Assamese records are very clear about it. After negotiating peace Guru Tegh Bahadur came back to Dacca early in the year 1670 A.D. The assertion that he was fighting for Ram Singh or was employed by him is pure fiction. Guru Tegh Bahadur's own letters give us clue about his movements.

[32] This gift of a sword to a military commander who accompanied Raja Ram Singh shows that Guru Tegh Bahadur was highly revered by all the generals. The Baroda Museum records about this sword clearly indicate superior and independent position of Guru Tegh Bahadur from which he bestowed honours and gifts on leading generals and refutes the theory that he was in the protective custody of Ram Singh.

[33] ethoñ cal ke Kumākyā Devī dā mañdir te lokān dī maryādā dekh ke Brahmputar daryā de kināre Dhobrī bandār ja utre. Ram Rāi Raje ne Guru jī mārfat sulhā karke tabedārī manlāī; Raje de samet sabh no ik pahādī jaisī usārī kar ditī, jo hun cār kos toñ dikhāī deñdī hai. fauj ne Gurū jī age bahut bhetā ai te sarī fauj ne daswañdh ditā . . sat lakh de lag bhag rupyā maharaj pās ho gāyā. Gyan Singh: *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā*, p 270.

[34] S. K. Bhuyan: *Anglo-Assamese Relations.*

[35] S. K. Bhuyan: *Lachit Bar Phukan and his Times*, p 74.

CHAPTER XIX

FROM ASSAM TO ORISSA AND BACK TO PATNA

GURU Tegh Bahadur and his *entourage* reached Dacca some time in April or May 1670 A.D. The people of Dacca gave him a royal reception. Messages were sent to all the *Sangats* of Bengal to come to Dacca for the *darshans* (reverence to the Guru) before he left for Puri. Guru Tegh Bahadur was now planning to go to Jagannath Puri in Orissa via Calcutta. He wrote a letter to Bhai Dayal Das asking him to send a few things and come and meet him before he left Dacca in September. He wrote: "The Guru will fulfil the desires of the whole *Sangat*. We are leaving this place in the month of *Asvin* (September-October). I have written for goods worth seventy rupees for the camp equipage. Send them as soon as you see the order. Send them immediately as preparations for the journey are to be made soon. Respected Brother (Dayal Das), come here to meet me and bring along with you some *Sangat*. Come soon. The Guru will bless the *Sangat* with prosperity in their earnings. Patna is the Home of the Guru."[1]

A month later, Bhai Dayal Das came with a large *Sangat*, and brought with him all the things required by the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur received the happy news about the inspiring pranks of his son Gobind Das. The *Sangat* from Sylhet, Chittagong, Sondip and other places also came there to have the last *darshans* of the Guru. A number of *Sangats* arose in Dacca. As late as 1840 A.D. there were 12 *Sangats* in Dacca alone.[2] Bhai Natha was appointed the chief missionary of Bengal while Bulaki Das was appointed the *masand* of the Dacca region. People lodged a serious complaint against Bhai Natha, saying that he used extremely bad language while addressing people, although, no one doubted his scholarship and spiritual eminence. Guru Tegh Bahadur asked Bhai Natha whether this allegation was true. True to his habit, Bhai Natha said: "Who is the bastard, who says I use bad language while speaking?"[3] Everyone burst into laughter. Guru Tegh Bahadur asked the *Sangat* not to be disturbed by the harsh or even unpleasant language of Bhai

Natha. He was a profound scholar and a great missionary concerned with the welfare of the people. He had done more for the poor and the suffering than anyone else. Besides, he was extremely selfless, and whole-heartedly devoted to the Guru's cause.

Bulaki Das' mother, a devout lady wanted to have a portrait of the Guru. A court artist was immediately engaged and a lifelike portrait of the Guru was painted in the Mughal style[4] (see *frontispiece*). The painting has been preserved to this day in the *Sangat Tola* Gurdwara, Dacca. Even the *takhat* (royal seat) which was used by Guru Tegh Bahadur was preserved, but now it is lying in such a dilapidated condition, that I doubt if it is the original one. Bhai Dayal Das left for Patna with innumerable gifts for Gobind Das, and the Holy Mother.

As soon as the rains ended Guru Tegh Bahadur left for Calcutta. He bade farewell to Shaista Khan and his Ministers, who had developed a profound respect for him, because of the tremendous influence he exercised on Raja Ram Singh and other Rajput princes, and because of the homage the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal paid to him wherever he went.

On the way to Calcutta Guru Tegh Bahadur camped at Pabna, Chaudanga, Darsana, Banpur, Bagula, Ranaghat, Madanpur, Kanchrapara, Naihati, Barrackpore and reached Calcutta which had already been visited by Guru Nanak when it consisted of only three small villages : Chuttanatty, Khal-Kutta and Gobindpur. Hooghly was known by the same name.[5] It was at Hooghly that Guru Nanak had stopped for a few days along with his rebeck player Mardana, and his peasant disciple Bala. The population of the whole Hooghly area did not exceed two hundred people at that time. Guru Nanak selected a place close to the Ganges, now known as *Badi Sangat*, and sang such soul stirring songs, that the place became a shrine, which was later organised into a bigger missionary centre by apostle Almast. The Guru and his disciples established a monastery here, probably because they divined the future greatness of the city. The English and the Dutch had started pouring into Hooghly area as they found it to be the safest place of landing on northern Indian territory.

Guru Tegh Bahadur camped in a place now known as *Choti Sangat*, a shrine better built, and having many ancient

records and recensions of the *Adi Granth* and *Dasm Granth*. It is a strange thing that the Sikhs of Calcutta who have built some more temples and rebuilt *Badi Sangat* Gurdwara know very little about the historicity of this place. The ruler of Burdwan then invited Guru Tegh Bahadur for a short stay in his capital, before he left for *Jagannath Puri*. He became a devout disciple of the Guru, and ever since then the rulers of Burdwan were known in history as Sikhs or the Khalsa disciples of the Gurus.[7]

From here Guru Tegh Bahadur moved on by stages to Jaleswar, Rupsa, Balasore, Cuttack, Bhubaneswar and reached Puri sometime by November 1670 A.D. Guru Nanak had visited Puri about the year 1508 A.D. at the time of the Chariot (*rath*) festival. Fortunately Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu was there and a near contemporary Bengali historical document, *Chaitanya Bhagvat* by Ishvar Das, states : "Sri Chaitanya the divine Lord, joined in *kirtan* (congregational singing) with Nanak, who was accompanied by his disciple Sarang. With them were Rup and Sanatan, and the two brothers Jagai and Madhai. They all performed *Kirtan* and divine dance."[8] In the congregational singing, (led by Sri Chaitanya and Guru Nanak) Nagar Purshotam was also there. Two women disciples, Jangli and Nandni also joined them. With them was also Gopal Guru for whom Guru Nanak developed deep personal affection. With them was also Nityananda Prabhu supposed to be an avatar of Balarama. They all performed *kirtan* at *Jagan Nath Puri.*"[9] In another reference in chapter 47 of the same record, it is stated, "that Udyata, the disciple of Sri Chaitanya, was particularly instructed by his Master to look after the personal comforts of Guru Nanak," which indicates that Guru Nanak probably stayed at Puri as the guest of Sri Chaitanya for some days.

Later Almast came here and re-organised the Sikh Church which is just opposite the historical shrine of Jagan Nath. It is said that Guru Nanak saw the *pandas* performing the *Arati* (worship of the god with lamps). When questioned for not participating in the prayer and homage to the historic idol, Guru Nanak sang the following *Arati* (song with the lamps) to the One Supreme Being :

In the salver of the firmament
The sun and moon shine as lamps;
The stars are like pearls for offering;
The fragrance of sandal trees is incense,
The breeze blows as Thy royal fan;
All the forests offer their flowers to Thee O eternal Light.
Thousands are Thine eyes,
And yet Thou hast no eyes;
Thousand are Thy forms,
And yet Thou hast no form;
Thousands are Thy spotless feet,
And yet Thou hast not one foot;
Thousands are Thy noses,
And yet Thou hast no nose;
This wondrous play bewitches me,
In every heart is the same Light;
It is the light of God,
Which illumines every soul,
And gives light and life to everyone,
Through the Guru's word,
This Light is revealed within the soul.
What pleaseth the Lord,
Is the best *Arati:* worship with the lamps.[10]

Guru Nanak: *Sohila-Arati.*

When apostle Almast came to Puri he was also put to considerable difficulties, because he refused to bow before the idol, but his deep spirituality and knowledge won him many supporters, and he was able to establish the importance and truth of Sikh faith. Guru Tegh Bahadur had met Almast during his early years, and he now came to revive and reinspire this centre.[11]

Guru Tegh Bahadur set up his camp close to the sea-shore, where there is a shrine now badly maintained by a sadhu. During Guru Tegh Bahadur's stay a well was constructed, and a free kitchen was opened for pilgrims of all faiths castes and creeds. The Pundits came to Guruji to discuss many theological problems and for clearing their doubts. The learned Guru gave a clear exposition of other systems of Indian thought, as well as his own. He then explained to them Guru Nanak's approach to religion and society which discouraged the cult of becoming sannyasins, and going for begging food, and articles of daily necessity to the doors of their disciples. If they were real sannyasins and saints they should never go to the houses of their disciples and dance and sing at their doors to beg their food and clothing.

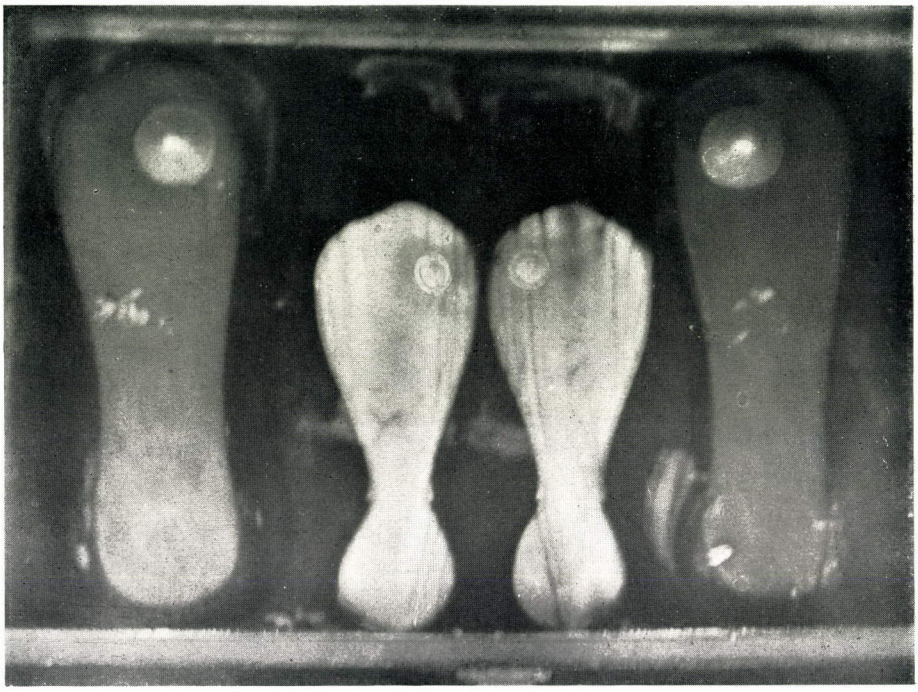
Here Guru Tegh Bahadur received the news of the terrorism let loose by Aurangzeb, to physically exterminate the Hindus and to destroy their temples. The original plan of Guru Tegh Bahadur was to complete a missionary tour of all those areas which Guru Nanak had visited down South. From Jagannath Puri he was planning to go to Madras and from there to Ceylon. The Sikh centres of these regions had maintained contacts with his predecessors and were now anxiously waiting for the visit of the ninth Guru. But Guru Tegh Bahadur had to cut short his tour to South India and rush back to Patna. From Jagannath Puri he sent a letter post-haste to Bulaki Das, to send immediately to Patna a *Palki* (palanquin) for his son Gobind Das, in which the Child could be taken to the Punjab.

After a stay of about a fortnight at Puri, Guru Tegh Bahadur left for Patna. On the way he halted at Midnapore, Vishnupur, Bankura, Gomoh and Gaya. At Midnapore there survive the descendants of the family that maintained the temple, now destroyed by repeated floods in this area. The family has an old recension of *Adi Granth* written in beautiful old Punjabi. At Vishnupur there exists a temple on the site where Guru Tegh Bahadur rested. The temple is named *Vah-Guru* temple and the area is named *Tapoban.* The site of the temple was discovered in a miraculous way by a great Yogi named Moni Baba Sri Haribhajan Swami in the middle of the last century. The Moni Baba came from South India, where while he was performing Yoga, a mystic figure in his vision guided him to go to Vishnupur and preach the message of Guru Nanak at the site where Guru Tegh Bahadur once rested and delivered some sermons. Here the Yogi came at the age of eighteen and not only built a beautiful temple which he named *Vah-Guru* temple on the historic place where Guru Tegh Bahadur halted, but also wrote half a dozen interesting books on Sikh theology in Bengali.[11]

The news of Guru Tegh Bahadur's return to Patna after an absence of four years thrilled the people of Patna. Great was the delight of Holy Mother Nanaki and Mata Gujari. Happiest of all was the four year old Gobind Das, who was to meet his father for the first time. His playful Krishna-like pranks and precocious ability had already given to the people the impression that a new prophet was born. Guru Tegh



The Garden of the Muslim Nawab at Patna, where Guru Tegh Bahadur met his son, Gobind Das for the first time



The Wooden Slippers of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh, preserved as sacred relics at Patna Sahib

Bahadur had repeatedly sent messages from Bengal that no one should interfere with the likes and dislikes of Gobind Das; and no one should interfere with the freedom of this new prophet of freedom.

Gobind Das was now carried in a *palki* (palanquin) to meet Guru Tegh Bahadur while the prominent disciples led by Bhai Dayal Das followed him chanting hymns from the *Adi Granth*. Guru Tegh Bahadur alighted from his horse while Gobind Das came out of the *palki*. He went to his father, bowed low and touched his feet in respectful reverence. Guru Tegh Bahadur embraced him and kissed him. The Guru was delighted to see his son about whom strange stories had reached him. He offered him the numerous presents and gifts which he had brought from Bengal. Bhai Dayal Das was the first to go forward and touch the Guru's feet. Guru Tegh Bahadur honoured him with a *siropao* and blessed and thanked him and the *Sangat* that looked after his family so well. The place where Guru Gobind Singh first met his father has been preserved as a garden which originally belonged to the Nawab of Patna.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] Sarbat Saṅgat Guru manorath pūre karegā; Asū no kūc hai, Satrīñ rupeyā kī vast likhī hai dere ke vāste, hukam dekhde hī vast bhejnī, sitābī sāth derā tyār honā hai; Saṅgat sarbat laike Bhayiā jī tum darśan kar jānā, sitāb āvnā; Saṅgat kā Gurū ruzgār mo barkat kare gā. Patnā Gurū kā ghar hai.
Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Letter written from Dacca to Patna.*

[2] "There are 52 Akhārās, 55 Kālībārīs and 12 Saṅgats"
James Taylor: *Topography and Statistics of Dacca* 1840 A.D.

[3] sun Bhāī Nathe bāc bole:
eh dhī ke lauḍe mat haule,
Maiñ in ko kab daī na gārī
sun Satgur bahu bigsāo
baiṭhe hute sakal muskāe.
Sūraj Prākāsh: *Rās* 12, *Aṅsū* 5.

[4] The painting is still preserved in the Sangat Tola Gurdwara It is in Mughal Style. A photostat copy of the painting is given as fronticepiece.
sun ur harkhī turt sidhāī
jae catere ko lai āī,
bahu dhan de kar kehat sunāe,
jatha jog pikh likho banāe

catur citera kar cit caru
bath nikat bandit dhar bhau
ang su bastar saje hain jaise
dhar prem ko likh kar taise.

Sūraj Prākāsh : *Rās* 12, *Aňsū* 5.

[5] Breasted ; *Calcutta Past and Present*, p 2,
Job Charnock, Chief of the English factory at Patna was the first Englishman to establish himself in Chuttunattee near about this period (1670).
See detailed account : *Eastern Interlude* by R. Pearson, p 14-30.

[6] eh Calcutta udoň Kālīghāt de nām karke chotā jaisā piňd si ethoň dā rājā Bahal Khatrī hazūrī Sikh sī ; Osne do mahīne Gurūjī nū bahut prem nāl rakhyā te bahut kich nazar bhet kitā.
This place Calcutta was then known as Kalighat. It was a small village under a Kshyatryia Raja of the Behal Clan. He entertained Guru Nanak for nearly two months and offered him many gifts.

Tawārīkh Gurukhālsā, p 217.

[7] The temple still has many old recensions of Ādi Granth and Dasam Granth. It is situated about a furlong from Baḍī Saňgat in Tullapatti, on what is now known as Cotton Street, Calcutta. There is a shrine commemorating the visit of Guru Nanak at Burdwan.

[8] srinīvāsā je bisaṁbhar,
kīrtan madhyā bihār
Nānak Sāraňg eh doī
Rup Sanatan do bhāī
kīrtan karaňtī eňrityā.

Ishvar Das: *Chaitanya Bhāgvat Adhyaya* 61
MSS copy preserved in Prachi Samati (Oriental Society) Cuttack.

[9] Nāgar Purshotam Dās
Janglī Naňdnī tā pās,
Nānak sehat gehan
Gopāl Guru saňg tem
Saňgat mat Balrām
Bihār Nilgirī dhām

ibid. adhyaya 64
See Trilochan Singh: *Historical Meeting between Guru Nanak and Sri Chaitanya at Puri*: Sikh Review, August 1963
Sometime later a disciple of Sri Chaitanya writing a commentary on Dasm Sikandh salutes Guru Nanak in the Invocation hymn thus
baňde Srī Nānak Guruň ; sattrā bodha Gurū Guraň.

[10] *Jagan Nath* "Lord of the world" after which the city is named

is a particular form of Krishna. He is worshipped in other parts of India, but Puri in Orissa is the great seat of his worship and multitudes of pilgrims resort thither from all parts, especially to the two great festivals of Sana-yatra and Ratha-yatra, in the month of Jyaiśtha and Aśaḍha. The first of these is when the image is bathed and in the second, or the car festival, the image is brought out upon a car with the images of his brother Balarama and sister Subhadra, and is drawn by the devotees.

The legend of the origin of Jagan Nath is peculiar. Krishna was killed by a hunter and his body was left to rot under a tree, but some pious persons found the bones and placed them in the box. A devout king named Indra-dyumna was directed by Vishnu to form the image of Jagan Nath and to place the bones of Krishna inside it. Vishvakarma the architect of gods undertook to make the image on the condition that he would not be disturbed. After fifteen days the King was impatient and went to Visvakarma who was angry and left off work before he had made either hands or feet, so that the image has only stumps. Indra-dyumna prayed to Brahma who promised to make the image famous.

The devotees wave the lamps before the idol and sing his praise. This worship is called Ârāti. Guru Nanak refused to join the worship of the idol. For him God was present everywhere and the whole of nature was performing the Ârāti. Reflection on this sublime aspect of nature, ever reverencing the spirit of God was the true Ârāti (or worship with the lamps).

[11] Guru Tegh Bahādur was about 12 years old when Almast first came to Gur Hargobind.

[12] This Yogi has left an account of his life and experience in Bengali. He was practising Yoga in the south when a resplendent figure appeared to him in a vision and directed him to go to Vishnupur, a place of which he had never heard up to that time, and build a monastery on the site marked as the camping place of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The Yogi named the temple *Vāh-Gurū Mandir*.

CHPTER XX

THE TERROR OF AURANGZEB

AURANGZEB ascended the throne in the midst of a storm that now threatened to rip the Indian heavens asunder. But this external tempest of extreme fanaticism, and intolerance was only a prelude to the whirlwind of bigoted passions, that were to blow in a perpetual fury, until his own miserable end stared him in the face. The magnanimity of his father, the nobility of Dara, the impetuosity of Murad, and the activity of Sujah met the same tragical end at his pitiless hands.

In subtlety, and most specious hypocrisy, in that concentration of resolve, which confides its deep purpose to none, in every qualification of the warrior, or scholar, Aurangzeb had no superior amongst the many distinguished of his race; but that sin, by which angels fell, had steeped him in an ocean of guilt, and not only neutralised his natural capacities, but converted the means for unlimited power into an engine of moral self-destruction.[1]

"This hypocricy" says the eloquent Orme, "increased with his power, and in order to palliate to his Mohammedan subjects the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword, as if the blood of his subjects were to wash the stains from his own hands, already encrimsoned with that of his family. Labour left the field, and industry the loom, until the decrease of the revenues induced Aurangzeb to substitute a capitation tax (*jazia*), as the balance of account between the two religions." The same historian justly characterises this enactment as one contrary to all notions of sound policy, as well as of the feelings of humanity, "that reflection seeks the motive with amazement".[1]

The persecution of the Hindus was the most momentous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his puritanism his regime might have been one of the most glorious, instead of being the most ominous, and fateful.[2] Although Aurangzeb had a lot of Hindu blood in him, he hated the Hindu everywhere except in the army, where the might of the

Rajput warriors was indispensable, and in the harem where the beauty and loyalty of the Hindu princess enchanted even his puritan and ascetic mind to the point of romantic madness. His principal queen, Nawab Bai, the mother of his successor, Bahadur Shah, was a Hindu princess of Kashmir. So also was his favourite Hira Bai, with whom he fell head over heels in love, before he became the Emperor.[3]

Aurangzeb's iconoclastic zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujrat, he converted the temple of Chintaman into a mosque and named it Quwat-ul-Islam. He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the shrine. But the building was restored to the Hindus by the order of Shah Jahan.[4] As long as Raja Jai Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh were alive, he did not dare either to impose the *jazia*, or to destroy Hindu temples. As soon as they were dead he deemed himself free to put forth the full extent of his long concealed design. It goes to the credit of Aurangzeb that upto 1665 A.D. his policy towards Hindus was reasonably correct. In the Benaras *farman* of 1659 he ordered that long standing temples should not be demolished and when he received information that the Hindus of Benaras were harassed and the priests forcibly removed from the temples, he ordered that "in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and other Hindu residents of the place." After the escape of Shivaji from Raja Ram Singh's protective custody, his wrath and suspicion changed into a bitter hatred for all Hindus. Some provincial Governors like that of Kashmir carried out the orders of persecution to inhuman extremes; others like Shaista Khan of Bengal ignored it completely and maintained a liberal attitude towards the Hindus.

The zealous admirers of Aurangzeb's tyranny write : "On Thursday, the 8th April 1669 occurred an eclipse. The Lord Cherisher of Faith (Aurangzeb) learnt that in the province of Tatta, Multan, and especially at Benares, the Brahmin misbelievers used to teach their false books in their established schools, so that admirers and students both Hindu and Muslim, used to come from great distances to these misguided men in order to acquire this vile learning. His Majesty, eager to establish Islam, issued orders to the governors of all the provinces to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels,

and with the utmost urgency put down the teaching and the public practice of the religion of the misbelievers."[5]

For permission to live in an Islamic state the unbeliever had to pay a tax called the *Jazia,* which means, substitute money or the price of indulgence. "A third instrument of the policy of putting economic pressure on unbelievers was the granting of rewards to the converts, and the offering of posts in the public service, liberation from prison, or succession to disputed property, on condition of turning Muslim. Hindu *peshkars* (clerks) and accountants were dismissed, which upset the administration. The Hindus could not hold any fair.[6]

Not only the Hindus but the poets and musicians began to suffer the worst of fates. He hated the poets, though he was himself tempted to write poetry many times. "If any of the singers and musicians became ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him and grants him land for his maintainance."[7] All these orders of repression were carried out with full administrative rigour : "During the month of *Ramzan,* abounding in miracles, the Emperor as the promoter of Justice and overthrower of mischief," writes the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* "as knower of truth and destroyer of oppression, as the zephyr of the garden of victory and the reviver of the faith of the prophet, issued orders for the demolition of the temple situated in Mathura, famous as Dehra Kesho Rai. In a short time by the great exertion of his officers, the destruction of this strong foundation of infidelity was accomplished and on its site a lofty mosque was built at the expenditure of a large sum. This temple of folly was built by that gross idiot Birsingh Deo Bundela."[8]

"Special officers were appointed to enter any house where music was heard and to burn the musical instruments. These were collected in heaps and destroyed. Singers and musicians were reduced to starvation. The office of the royal poet was likewise abolished and the allowances of poets were discontinued."[9] Islam had produced the world's best poetry, and music, but Aurangzeb now tried to create an Islamic faith completely free from music, and poetry. Islam had produced saints, and scholars who were incomparable in compassion and tolerance, but Aurangzeb perpetuated a bigoted religion, that was extremely intolerant and pitiless.

There were strong protests, and open revolts all over the

country. "Upon the publication of the order of *jazia*, the Hindus around Delhi assembled in vast numbers under the *Jharokha* (palace window) of the Emperor, on the river bank near the palace, to represent their inability to pay, and to pray for the recall of the edicts. One day when he went to public prayer, a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque with the object of seeking relief. Money changers, and drapers, all kinds of shop keepers from the Urdu Bazar, mechanics, and workmen of all kinds, left off their work and business, and pressed into the way. Notwithstanding, orders were given to force the way through, but it was impossible for the Emperor to reach the mosque. At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses. For some days the Hindus continued to assemble in great numbers and complain, but at length they submitted to pay *Jazia*.[10] The first Gandhian *Satyagrah* in pre-Gandhian Indian history, failed in the face of totalitarian might of the ruthless Emperor.

The strongest protest came from Rana Raj Singh, who was chosen by the Rajputs as their head, in a style of uncompromising dignity. He wrote: "All praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty, and the munificence of your Majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun. I have been informed that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well wisher." After pointing out the benevolent inclinations of his ancestors who pursued so great and generous a policy, he declared: "During your Majesty's reign many have been alienated. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished. As to the soldiery they are in murmurs, the merchants complaining, the Mohammedans discontented, the Hindus destitute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation. If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of Mohammedans alone. The pagan and the Mussulman are equal in His presence. Distinctions of colour are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your mosques to His name the

voice is raised in prayer, in a house of images where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, "presume not to arraign or scrutinise the various works of power Divine."

The strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's misrule came from his sensitive son Akbar who wrote: "In your Majesty's reign the ministers have no power, the nobles enjoy no trust, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employment, the traders are without means, and the peasantry are downtrodden. On the Hindu tribes two calamities have descended, first the exaction of *Jazia* in the towns, secondly the oppression of the enemy in the country. Men of high extraction, and pure breed, belonging to ancient families have disappeared, and the office and department of your Majesty's government, and the functions of Your counselling on the affairs of the State, are in the hands of the mechanics, low people, and rascals, like weavers, soap vendors, and tailors. These men carrying broad cloaks of fraud under their arms, and the snare of fraud, and trickery, to wit the rosary in, their hands, roll on the tongues certain traditions, and maxims. Your Majesty trusts these confidants, counsellers, and companions, as if they were Gabriel, and Michael, and place yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing wheat (as samples), but selling barley, by such pretexts make grass appear as a hill, and hill as grass to you."

The Muslim States of the South, and the Pathans in the north-west rose in rebellion against him. The stern, and independent poet-warror, Khushal Khan Khatak, kept the flag of freedom flying till his own son betrayed him to the enemy's hands. An exile from his country and captive in the enemy fortress, he could still declare:

> I know well Aurangzeb's justice and equity,
> His orthodoxy in the Faith, his fasts and penances;
> His own brothers, time after time, cruelly slain by sword
> His father overcome in battle, and thrown in prison.
> Though a man strike his head on the ground thousand times,
> Or by fasting bring his navel and spine together,

Unless he desires in truth to act with goodness,
His adorations are all false and a lie;
The way of his tongue is one and that of his heart another,
Let his very vitals be torn, cut, and lacerated.
Outwardly the serpent is handsome, and well informed.
In the inward parts it is unclean, and filled with venom;
Since Khushal's arms cannot reach the tyrant in the world,
May God have no mercy on him on the day of doom.[12]

Even the heavens shook with the terror created by Aurangzeb. An earthquake shook the country from East and West. "A star in the East shot out of the sky and fell towards the West, lighting up houses as with moonlight, and then a sound like the rumbling of thunder was heard."[13] Under the shadow of this gloom Guru Tegh Bahadur decided to leave Patna at once because he received painful reports of the suffering of the people in the Punjab.

Before Guru Tegh Bahadur left Patna there came an aged Sufi Saint named Shah Bhikh, or as he was popularly known Bhikhan Shah. He had met Guru Tegh Bahadur at Thanesar but now in his vision he saw that another prophet was born at Patna. He suddenly decided to go to Patna along with a number of his disciples. He left his *Khanqah* at Thaska in the Thanesar Tehsil and went all the way on foot to Patna. He paid his homage to Guru Tegh Bahadur, and then reverenced the four-year-old Gobind Das. He had brought with him two pots of sweets one symbolising the Hindus and the other Muslims. He wanted to know whether the new prophet, Gobind. would be a friend of the Hindus or of the Muslims. He expected the Child, Gobind, to signify his mission by accepting only one of the pots. Gobind Das placed his hands on both of them and brought them together. Tears rolled down the eyes of Shah Bhikhan when the Child Prophet signified that he would stand by both. His disciples and the Sikhs standing closeby were surprised at this spiritual dialogue of silent suggestions. Shah Bhikhan explained to everyone the question he had posed, and the answer he had received.[14]

An excellent guilded *palki* was brought from Dacca by Bulaki Das, in which the Child Gobind was to be taken to Punjab. Guru Tegh Bahadur decided to go to Punjab as swiftly as possible. Raja Ram Rai of Kamarup had accompanied him to Patna, and was now anxious to help

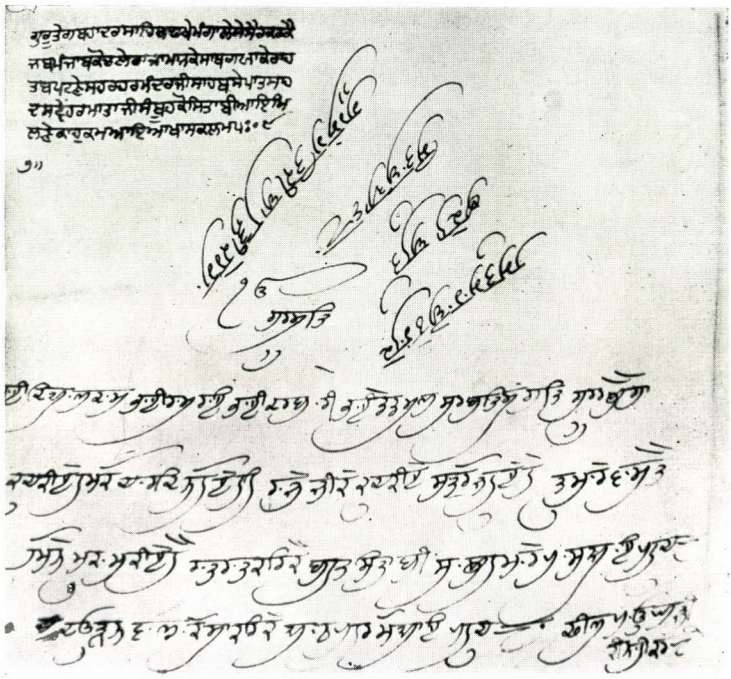
Guru Tegh Bahadur's family reach Anandpur. Guru Tegh Bahadur had already informed all the *Sangats* that he would be reaching Anandpur (Makhowal or Nanaki Chak as it was known then) some weeks before Baisakhi (March 30, 1671 A.D.). Bhai Dayal Das had written to his brother Bhai Mani Ram (later known as Bhai Mani Singh) to reach Anandpur before Baisakhi.[15] Diwan Mati Das, Sati Das, Bhai Gurditta and other prominent Sikhs had instructed their kith and kin to be present at the annual gathering, where they could have for the first time the *darshan* (audience) of Gobind Das, who was revered by everyone as the Saviour of the future.

Guru Tegh Bahadur wanted his Child's journey to Punjab to be as comfortable and swift as possible. Guruji left Patna with an advance party. He selected places of halts and rest where the local people were advised to be ready with preparations. After three days, Raja Ram Rai followed Guru Tegh Bahadur with camp equipments and other necessaries. At every halting place, selected by Guru Tegh Bahadur, Raja Ram Rai fixed up and provided everything necessary for the reception of the Child Gobind. Three to five people were left behind in charge of each camp. He moved quite fast and overtook Guru Tegh Bahadur in seven days. From this place Guru Tegh Bahadur addressed a letter to Bhai Dayal Das, Bhai Ram Rai the *masand* of Patna (different from Raja Ram Rai), Bhai Darbari, and Bhai Dedh Mal saying: "The Guru blesses the whole *Sangat* of Patna. It is ten days since we left Patna. Rajaji left seven days back. We have fixed up camping places for you all (i.e. the Guru's family which they were supposed to bring along with them). Resting only for a night at every camp please meet us here as early as possible. Come with the speed of a runner, and cover the distance from one camp to another in 8 *pehars* (24 hours). Do not waste a single minute in any kind of delay. We are waiting for you here. Come very quickly. The Guru blesses the *Sangat*."[16]

Thus with a speed that can be gauged from this letter Guru Tegh Bahadur's family left Patna. While coming to Patna from Punjab Guru Tegh Bahadur had come by the longer route of the old Grand Trunk road running south of the Ganges. Now from Benares onwards he took the shorter route to Delhi running north of the Ganges. On this route he stopped at



Guru Tegh Bahadur
(Mughal Style : Original at Allahabad)



Letter of Guru Tegh Bahadur written from a camp on the way to Punjab, asking Bhai Dayal Das to reach posthaste, with his family. Rest camps, the letter informs had been fixed by the Guru and by a Raja following him, for young Gobind Das and the rest of the family.

Jaunpur, Ayudhya, Lucknow, Shahjahanpur and Moradabad.[17] At Jaunpur he blessed Bhai Gurbakhsh, one of the most melodious singers of divine songs. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave him a musical instrument called *mridang* as a gift. He had brought it from Bengal, where it is still very widely used. The house of Bhai Gurbakhsh became a temple, which is now known as *Sangat* Mridangpuri. The same musical instrument, *Mridang,* is still preserved there respectfully. A pair of shoes of Gobind Das have also been preserved.[18] Soon Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Delhi, where he stayed either in Kalyan Das' Dharamsala, the exact site of which is not known to history, or more probably, with his devoted disciple Lakhi Shah (Lakhai Rai). After a short stay at Delhi he came to Anandpur, stopping on the way at Kurukshetra and with his friend Saifuddin at Saifabad. Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Anandpur along with his son Gobind Das early in February 1671 A.D.[18]

Bhai Mani Singh had come to Anandpur with his family from Alipur. He was extremely happy to see the Guru back with the young prophet Gobind Das to whom he was soon to dedicate his life. The annual gathering day *Baisakhi* (also New Year Day) was approaching.[19] Disciples from all over Punjab began to pour in to meet Guru Tegh Bahadur, and to see the young prophet Gobind Das. Guru Tegh Bahadur now had two problems in his mind; the education of his son Gobind Das, and meeting the challenge of Aurangzeb to the religious freedom of all non-Muslims. The Hindus were extremely demoralised. The only life the Hindu could lead under Aurangzeb was a life deprived of the consolations of religion, deprived of social union and public rejoicing, of wealth and the self-confidence, that is begotten by the free exercise of nutural activities, and use of opportunities, in short, a life exposed to constant public humiliation, and political disabilities. Heaven and earth were closed to him as long as he remained a Hindu. "The terror caused by the bigoted policy of Aurangzeb entered in all sections of Indian life except the fanatic Muslims."[20]

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] James Tod: *Annalas and Antiquities of Rajasthan* Vol. I p 302
[2] S. R. Sharma: *The Crescent in India* p 661

[3] S. R. Sharma: *The Crescent in India* p 599; J. N. Sarkar: Aurangzeb, p 155.

[4] ibid.

[5] *Maasīr-ī-Ālamgīrī:* Saqi Mustad Khan "Bibliotheca Indica", p 51-52

[6] Jadhunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb* p 156

[7] S. M. Latif: *History of Punjab* p 175-176; Mirat-i-Alam.

[8] Saqi Mustad Khan: *Maasīr-i-Alamgīrī*; p 60

[9] S. M. Latif: *History of Punjab* p 175-176

[10] Khafi Khan: *Muntakhab-ul-Labāb,*

Dr. Fryer writing in 1675 A.D. mentions the new tax (*jazia*) on Hindus, which he says amounted to as much as a gold mohar or 31s, 6d for a Brahmin. Manucci states that the tax ranged from 3½ rupees levied on the poor to 13½ on the merchants. Thus according to Dr. Fryer Jazia was imposed in 1675 while according to *Maasīr-ī-Ālamgīrī* it was levied in 1679 A.D. As Aurangzeb had forbidden to write any chronicles at all, dates and events that have come down from memory are not very correct after the 11th year of his reign. The *Jazia* was certainly imposed before the Satnami revolt.

[11] James Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* f.n p 302

[12] Olaf Carve: *Pathans.*

[13] "News came from Attock-Benares that on Thursday, 24th June 4th Safar, 1669 A.D., severe earthquake had formed a pit 50 yards in length and of unfathomable depth. News came from Kashmir that on Wednesday, the 23rd June/ 3rd Safar, the earthquake continued from evening to morning. The buildings rocked like cradles but were not damaged.

"On Monday, October 11th, 1669, it was learnt that when four *gharis* of the night had passed, a star on the east shot cut of the sky and fell towards the west, lighting up houses as with moonlight, and then a sound like rumbling of thunder was heard."

Saqi Mustad Khan: *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* pp 54-55

[14] *Shah Bhikh:* This great Saint was born in a Sayyad family in the village Syana, Tehsil Kainthal, Dist: Karnal. His Master lived in Kuhdam. Shah Bhikh was a disciple of Abul Muali Shah of village Ambehta, District Saharanpur. The Saint Bhikh spent most of his life in the village Thaska in Thanesar Tehsil, and his Master Muali Shah also came and stayed with him where Shah Bhikh served him with great devotion.

After divining the advent of a new prophet at Patna through his spiritual insight and vision, he came to Patna and he brought with him two pots of sweets as offering to judge which one was accepted. One pot symbolised Hindus the other Muslims. Gobind placed his hands on both of them. When the Shah's disciples questioned about it, he explained that this Prophet will be a friend of both the Hindus and

Muslims. He will be the well-wisher and benefactor of both the communities.

Kahan Singh, *Mahān Kosh*, p 133, 2nd ed.

[15] This is quite clear from Bhai Mani Singh's arrival at Anandpur just before Guru Tegh Bahadur reached Punjab. see f.n. 19.

[16] Ik Oṁkār: Gurū Sat; Bhaī Dayal Dās, Bhaī Rām Raī, Bhāī Darbārī, Bhai Dedh Mal, sarbat saṅgat Gurū rakhe gā ; kūc kīe ham ko das din hūe haih ; Rājā jī ko kūc kīe sat roj hūe haiṅ ; tumāre vāste hamne mukām kīe haiṅ ; rāt kar kai bahut śitābī sāth hamāre pās āe pahuṅcnā; dauḍan wālā kos kar karke āth pehar ro ae pahucnā ; dhil pau ghadī kī nahī karnī ; ham tumārā baiṭhe rān dekhte hai; bahut sitāb avnā; Guru Saṅgat kī bahuḍī kare gā.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's *Letter written to Patna Sangat from first major camp on the way to Punjab: probably Benares.*

[17] Gyan Singh in his *Tawarikh* Guru Khalsa and Bhai Vir Singh in *Kalghidhar Chamatkar* write that Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh visited Pilibhit Mathura, and Hardwar on the way back. All these places were out of the way during return journey. There is no historical evidence or shrine or tradition confirming that Guru Tegh Bahadur or Guru Gobind Singh ever visited these places on their way back to Anandpur from Patna.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's letter also refutes the theory that he sent for his son Gobind only after reaching Punjab, a fact which has been so highly dramatised by the author of Sūrāj Prākāsh that he suggests that while Guru Gobind was on the way to Punjab Guru Tegh Bahadur was on the way to Delhi for martyrdom. This is refuted by Guru Gobind Singh's own autobiography which clearly suggests that he was brought to the Punjab by his father and was given education and training in many different subjects before his father's death. Education generally began at the age of 4. So it is quite clear that at least for four or five years of his life before he succeeded his father, Guru Gobind Singh had been staying at Anandpur. Sikh records are unfortunately not very reliable on the life and movements of the Gurus outside the Punjab. For this the local traditions and provincial records furnish more accurate information.

[18] nauṅven satgurū is thāṅ virāje han. Gurdwāre dā nām Saṅgat Mridaṅgwalī hai ; Gurbakhsh Sikh de ghar derā Gurū Sāhib ne kitā.

Kahan Singh, *Mahān Kosh.*

[19] kachuk kāl rehio Manī Singh pur Alī grām bulaṅd
Vaisākhi ke divas pai, pahuṅcīo purī Anaṅd,
et disā Guru Tegh Bahādur het āyo kar pūrab daurā
purī Anaṅd and bheo, banī saṅgat āvat vangār bhaurā
darśan pāvan Goviṅd Dās ke, cahun dis mai mac gayo sī raurā.
Sevā Harī Manī Siṅgh ju pahun ke baṅdan karat dou kar jorā.

Sewa Singh: *Shahid Bilas.*

The above record gives 1672 A.D. as the year of the Guru's arrival at Anandpur. This is possible if after his return from Assam Guru Tegh Bahadur stayed for more than a year either at Dacca or at Patna. For this I have not been able to get sufficient distorical evidence. Guru Tegh Bahadur's letters indicate that after he received the news of the demolition of temples and forcible conversions in 1670 A.D. he was in a hurry to be back in the Punjab. It is more probable that he reached Punjab before the Baisakhi in the year 1671 A.D. Dates given by Gyan Singh, Kavi Santokh Singh and Kesar Singh Chibber are absolutely incorrect.

[20] Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb* p 156.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT AWAKENING.

I was brought to the Punjab,
The governesses nursed and fondled me,
With great love and devotion ;
My parents brought me up
With all kinds of loving and protective care ;
They gave me many types of training,
And imparted priceless knowledge!

Guru Gobind Singh.
Bachitar Natak: Apni Katha

THE terror of Aurangzeb drove lovers of religious freedom, poets, scholars, musicians, artists, linguists away from Delhi, Agra, and other provincial centres ; and many of them sought asylum at Anandpur and found the peace, freedom, and the patronage they sought. Some of them were employed for the all-round education and training of Gobind Das, who showed exceptional intelligence in learning such difficult languages as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Along with his education in languages, theology and prosody he was given training in archery and the use of weapons. Guru Tegh Bahadur knew that the child was gifted, and a soul with a destiny, so he aimed at making him as great a scholar as his grandfather Guru Arjan, and as great a warrior as his father Guru Hargobind.

Guru Tegh Bahadur's sister Bibi Viro had come with all her five sons, each one of whom was now a well trained warrior. Sango Shah, her eldest son became Gobind's major teacher in archery and sword-fighting, and later on was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of Guru Gobind Singh's army. Complete freedom, and strict discipline formed the keynote of young Gobind's education. On his way to Anandpur from Patna he had seen the demolished temples ; he had heard the pitiable cries of the oppressed and innocent victims of Aurangzeb's cruelty. He had heard his father tell them to shed all fear, to give up attachment to petty earthly things, and not to give up their faith and convictions for the sake of political patronage or earthly comforts. Not only had the people complained against the rulers, but the

exploitation by the Pundits and the Mullas was extremely severe. The social degradation of the people had moved him deeply. He was conscious of the moral and spiritual crisis of the times, and he knew that his all round education of academic excellence in all branches of knowledge and Spartan perfection in the use of arms was particularly arranged to enable him to meet the crisis. Never was a boy educated with such meticulous and devoted care. He received practical lessons in fortitude and modesty, piety and manliness, fearlessness and benevolence, poetry and philosophy, charity and the spirit of self-consecration, and above all in reverence for the life, freedom, and faiths of all mankind. These are the virtues that were too clearly reflected in his writings later on. His teachers and instructors lavished on him all the affection, and attention, a royal pupil deserved.

Guru Tegh Bahadur spent the whole of the year 1671 A.D at Anandpur organising and training disciples, directing the construction of the city, according to the new requirements. Early in the year 1672 or 1673, he left for an extensive tour of Malwa and the Banger Desh.[2] These were the backward areas where mass conversion was carried on by local officials, and these were the areas which the saints and reformers rarely visited. There was scarcity of water, and lack of education and people were living in poverty, ignorance, misery, and fear. Guru Tegh Bahadur went there to awaken them to their individual, and collective responsibility. Unfortunately no chronicler has recorded the details of this missionary tour into the forest regions of Malwa. Three historical records, *Sakhi Pothi, Suraj Prakash* and Gyan Singh's *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* have recorded a few ancedotes gleaned from oral traditions prevalent in about thirty places. The belief that Guru Tegh Bahadur visited only about twenty to thirty places in this region has tempted almost all historians to assume that Guru Tegh Bahadur visited these places on his way to the East. But the *Sakhi Pothi* indicates that he spent nearly ten months on this tour, and my findings are that he visited nearly ninety places, where we now have the historical shrines commemorating Guru Tegh Bahadur's visit.

In every place visited by Guru Tegh Bahadur, the campassionate Master asked the people about their difficulties and problems. Where fields were barren and dry, he had the

wells dug for the people. Where there was scarcity of milk, he procured cows for them and distributed them free to the people. For the landless peasants he procured some land, and urged them to live courageously as free people, in love and humility before God. In barren areas, he had the trees planted.

Guru Tegh Bahadur felt that the soul of India was in the life of the humble village-dwellers. To these humble villagers he went with the torch of spiritual wisdom in one hand, and the sword of freedom from fear, freedom from hunger, freedom from oppression in the other. He taught them that the battle for economic freedom and political liberty was to be fought by an active struggle against poverty, and passive resistance against oppression, but the battle for moral, and spiritual freedom was to be fought in their own hearts and minds. Without conquering their greed, avarice, lust for wealth, and power, they could not overcome any type of fear, slavery, and oppression.

The following are the historical places which bear witness to the burning enthusiasm, the fiery pacifism, and the revolutionary fervour shown by the people of this area, to which they gave expression by making every camping place of Guru Tegh Bahadur a shrine, and subsequently by joining Guru Gobind Singh's resistance movements against the Imperialists, and their puppets, the Hindu Rajas of Himalayan range:

Patiala Tehsil

1. Gurdwara Dukhniwaran
2. Bahadur Garh : Saifabad
3. Moti Bagh Gurdwara

Tehsil Rajpura

4. Gurdwara Harpalpur
5. „ Dharamgarh
6. „ Mandwal
7. „ Ugani
8. „ Alimajra
9. „ Hassanpur
10. „ Pilkhani
11. „ Dhadhauli-Mathra
12. Gurdwara Simbada
13. „ Nardu
14. „ Hamayunpura
15. „ Bhagdana
16. „ Pilkhani

Tehsil Sirhind

17. Gurdwara Lang
18. „ Gurusar
19. „ Jhanda-Sahib
20. „ Thara Sahib
21. „ Bhagi Bhandar

22. Gurdwara Naulakha
23. „ Tehalpura
24. „ Brahman-Majra
25. „ Mukrampura
26. „ Haili
27. „ Ghadaun
28. „ Nandpur
29. „ Behar
30. „ Akad
31. „ Damdama Sahib

Tehsil Sunam

32. Gurdwara Behar Jakh
33. „ Tal Ghanau
34. „ Sataul
35. „ Ghurna

Tehsil Mansa

36. Gurdwara Rakabsar
37. „ Dikh
38. „ Dhalewan
39. „ Atla Khurd
40. „ Bhupal
41. „ Khyal Kalan
42. „ Ali Sher-Khan
43. „ Joga
44. „ Bhiki
45. „ Samaon
46. „ Khewa-Kalan
47. „ Kot Dharmu
48. „ Sangar Heri
49. „ Barra
50. „ Hirewal
51. „ Bhedda
52. „ Bhuga
53. „ Saghreni
54. „ Gosidpura
55. „ Bachoana

Tehsil Dhuri

56. Gurdwara Bambed
57. „ Tapa Mandi
58. „ Chetanwali
59. „ Lehalkalan
60. „ Gaga
61. „ Gobindpura
62. „ Papda
63. „ Makraud
64. „ Bhalran
65. „ Mandvin
66. „ Alorakh
67. „ Malowal

Tehsil Bathinda

68. Gurdwara Ralla
69. „ Baghel Chatar Singh
70. „ Kot Dharam

Tehsil Sangrur

71. Gurdwara Gurusar Katu
72. „ Dhamtan
73. „ Khatkad
74. „ Kharkbhura
75. „ Jind
76. „ Phaguwal
77. „ Bhavanigarh
78. „ Kamalpur
79. „ Akoi
80. „ Didban
81. „ Saphidon

Tehsil Barnals

82. Gurdwara Hadyaya
83. „ Adisar
84. „ Sekhan
85. „ Pharvahi
86. „ Modkalan
87. „ Sardulgarh
88. „ Rajgarh Kuba
89. „ Katu



Gurdwara Dukhniwaran, Patiala



Gurdwara Moti Bagh, Patiala

Before he started his tour he stayed with Nawab Saifuddin who had become a keen admirer and devoted friend of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Whenever Guru Tegh Bahadur came to him, he used innumerable devotional devices to retain the Guru with him as long as possible. From here he visited Dukhniwaran and the place marked as the Moti Bagh shrine in Patiala. The exact details of his movements are not recorded anywhere, though it may be possible to reconstruct them, with a little more labour and research. A few ancedotes have been preserved and recorded in *Sakhi Pothi, Suraj Prakash* and *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa,* which are recorded below.

Guru Tegh Bahadur came to the village of Mulowal and camped near a well whose water was sour. This being the only well in the area, the peasants were leading a difficult life, as they had to get drinking water from a great distance. Prayers and *Kirtan* were performed, after which Guruji asked for some water. He did not want the peasants to go far but to take out water from the same well. When he took it and washed his face and hands with it, he found that the water had become sweet. He then pointed to a place where they could dig nine wells and solve the irrigation problem of the whole region. He also gave them money to start the project. During his nine days' stay at Mulowal, Goinda, the Chowdhary had served the Guru and the *Sangat* with great devotion, and the Master sent for all his seven sons and gave them *siropaos.*[3]

From Mulowal Guru Tegh Bahadur went to Sekhey village, nine miles to the West. The land-lord of the village, Tiloka, was the owner of twenty-two villages. When the Guru arrived there he was performing the marriage of his daughter, and to display his wealth and power he had kept the marriage party as his guest for twenty-two days, after which the marriage was solemnised. On the advice of Madho Das Bairagi, his religious teacher, he maintained an insulting attitude towards the Guru, and the *Sangat.* Some one pointed out to the Guru: "There goes the chief of twenty-two villages." Guru Tegh Bahadur smiled and said: "There goes a mentally and spiritually blind man. His pride is heading for a fall." Bhai Durga served the Guru with great devotion and was blessed. In the evening Tiloka's son-in-law came to pay homage to the Guru. The Master advised the

young man not to be lured by the wealth of his father-in-law, Tiloka, but to go to his village home in Doaba as his father-in-law might be soon uprooted." The young man accepted the Guru's advice. After some months Ise Khan attacked the village, and brought it to ruins.[4]

Then Guru Tegh Bahadur camped at Hadiyae. When Tiloka came to know that a curse had fallen on him, he ran after the Guru and begged forgiveness. The compassionate Guru said: "The Will of God shall prevail. The place in which you are living will be in ruins, but wherever else you settle you will flourish again. Do not hurt anyone. Live in charity and humility." The people of Hadiyae were suffering and dying from a strange epidemic of death by suffocation. They begged the Guru to give them relief. Guru Tegh Bahadur dug a tank of clean water for them, and asked the peasants to use the water of that tank only. The epidemic ended. The Guru's physicians gave medical aid to those who were already suffering.

At the village of Dhilwan there was great shortage of milk. Guru Tegh Bahadur procured 101 cows and distributed them free to the villagers. They were feeling extremely shy to accept such costly gifts from the Guru, but Guru Tegh Bahadur urged them to accept them, and to look after them well.[6]

When he went to Dhikhi a humble Sikh entertained the Guru and the *Sangat* with great devotion. When the Master came to know that the young man did not have any children he assured him saying that in due course God would bless him with children. He should not worry about it, but continue to lead the honest and devout life he was already living.[7]

A humble and homeless man named Joga came to serve the Guru and the *Sangat*. The Master found him very noble and courageous. He asked Bhai Joga to settle near the ruins of the old village where he would flourish as a well-to-do-man. He provided him with all the bare necessaries of a home. Through the help and blessings of the Guru, Joga became rich and wealthy, but he turned his house into a shrine of the Guru.[8]

At Khiwan a peasant named Singha requested the Guru to camp in his field. He provided rations for the Guru's

kitchen and fodder for his horses. When he was about to leave, Guru Tegh Bahadur asked him to stay on. He said that the engagement ceremony of his son had been performed and he wanted to distribute sugar-cakes to the villagers. "We shall do that for you" said Guru Tegh Bahadur, "You are twice blessed."[9]

When Guru Tegh Bahadur came near the village Samaon, the *Sangat* from Kabul came and met him. Guru Tegh Bahadur camped in the open fields, where the Guru addressed the congregation and *Kirtan* (congregational singing) was performed. Some Sikhs had brought rich offerings from Kabul. He blessed them all, and gave them spiritual instructions, and robes of honour. A peasant, who was ploughing the fields nearby, was deeply impressed by the honour the disciples were doing to the Master. He felt that he must either be a great prince or a prophet. His wife had just brought his midday meal, consisting of coarse bread and churned curd. He offered this to the Guru, who was very much touched by his simplicity and devotion. "This is your midday meal, my friend," said Guru Tegh Bahadur, "I have accepted it and now you must eat." After sharing it with some of the disciples he ate it. The Guru gave him money and clothes, and blessed him saying, "Milk will ever be in abundance in your house."[10]

At Bhikhi he met a Hindu named Des Raj, who was the disciple of Sakhi Sarwar Pir.[11] Impressed by his devotion and heroic demeanour Guru Tegh Bahadur offered him five arrows saying, that as long as he respected these, he would be able to conquer his enemies, but if he showed any disrespect to them he would be ruined. When he met his Pir, he threatened Des Raj with dire curses, and ordered him to destroy the arrows, which he did. Within a few years his family was extinct.[12]

At Khyala a Brahmin and his son who brought milk for the congregation were blessed. Some trees were planted, and a well was dug for the benefit of the Brahmin's village. When he was about to camp at the village of Modan he was informed that the place was haunted and whoever slept there lost his life. A boy had died only recently. Guru Tegh Bahadur smiled and said: "We will drive away all evil spirits.

Wherever the glory of the one Supreme Lord is sung, no evil spirit remains there. By staying there for about a week, the Guru convinced everybody that the place was no more haunted, and that the fear of evil spirits disappears by remembering and contemplating God.[13]

At Talwandi better known as Damdama, he rested for a few days and prophesied that the place would gain importance in future as a religious centre of the Sikh people of Malwa.[14] He stayed for nine days at Bathinda and enjoyed hunting in this thickly forested region. He camped within this forest at a place now known as Sulsar. At night four robbers, two Hindus, and two Muslims, came to loot and plunder the Guru's camp. To their surprise they saw a tiger moving around the Guru's camp, as if it were guarding it. The two Muslims were everawed and refused to steal anything belonging to the Guru. The Hindu thieves thought it was easy to take away the Guru's horse at least. As soon as they tried to do it, they were caught. In the daytime when they were produced before Guru Tegh Bahadur, they were asked why they had come at night like thieves, and what did they actually require. The Hindu thieves frankly confessed that they had come for the horse, and other precious things belonging to the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur ordered that his horse should be given to them immediately. He asked the robbers to take whatever they liked in the daytime; he would refuse them nothing. The Hindu thieves were so ashamed of their deed, in the face of Guru Tegh Bahadur's compassion and charity that in utter remorse they committed suicide by hanging themselves. The Guru prayed for their souls.[15]

Guru Tegh Bahadur camped for a week at Bachiyane, and for a few days at Gobindpur Gaga and Makrod. At Dhamtan he ordered his treasurer to spend as much money as was necessary to give relief to the suffering villagers by constructing a well for them and procuring other necessaries of life. Bhai Meha, the Udasi saint who had served Guru Hari Rai, and Guru Hari Krishen came now to pay homage to the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur was so happy to meet him that he asked Bhai Meha to seek any boon, and it would be granted. "Exalted One" said Bhai Meha humbly, "Grant me this boon, that I may have no desire for anything in future." Guru Tegh Bahadur granted him this request, and

gave him a robe of honour. Bhai Meha became prominent for his philanthrophy and saintliness.[16]

Guru Tegh Bahadur spent the months of rain at the village of Barrah.[17] He was now in the Banger tract. Soon after the rains he moved to other places in the Bangar tract. People from the neighbouring region came to pay homage to the Guru. About a fortnight later, Guru Nanak's birthday was celebrated on the *Kartik Puranmashi* (full moon day of the month of *Kartik* : October) with great rejoicing and festivity. *Kirtan* was performed, visitors were given all they asked, and extremely delicious food was prepared, and served all day to everyone without distinction of caste or creed.[18]

Guru Tegh Bahadur gave 101 gold mohars to a *masand* named Dago saying : "You must build a well for the peasants and spend this money for the welfare of the people. If you do so, we shall render more help, and you will receive our blessings. But if you misuse it, you will dig your own grave. All religious offerings must be used for the benefit of the poor, and for the social and cultural reconstruction of society. If they are ever spent on self-aggrandisement it will bring calamity to you and your family. Powerful men have been ruined by misusing and misappropriating the money that is offered in temples for charitable purposes."[19]

During all his travels Guru Tegh Bahadur completely identified himself with the sorrow and suffering of the people. As he saw it, moral and spiritual awakening was the only cure for the maladies of frustration and despair, caused by the totalitarian terror of Aurangzeb. He felt that only minds strong in moral fervour, and spirit made unconquerable by the realization of their higher destiny were capable of struggling against the chaotic decay of Indian society and could save the people of India from dehumanisation. A social and political order, built on the ruins of spiritual freedom, was a sin against society, a crime against humanity, and an insult to God, and His purpose of creation. The challenge of such a social and political order, as was being built by Aurangzeb could be met only if the people were conscious of higher spiritual, and ethical values, and were prepared to forget their narrow attachment for their body, their wealth, their property, and family and were ready to suffer and die like sages. But before one could die like a sage, one had to be taught to live

like a sage. It was this ideal of the sage, the man who is a god in flesh, that was being ingrained in the minds of the people all over the country.

> He who fears no one
> Nor strikes fear in any one
> Consider my mind, says Nanak
> Such a man to be a sage.
> Guru Tegh Bahadur[20]

The burthen and essence of his songs and sermons was : Be fearless by relying on the strength and power of God. Be fearless by giving up attachment to wealth, body, and other earthly possessions which are transient. Be fearless, and be stoically indifferent to pleasure and pain, happiness and sorrow. Be strong in moral purity and the spirit of dedication. Be wise in spiritual enlightment, and the love of humanity and God. Be a god in flesh:

> Know such a man, says Nanak
> To be a living image of God
> Who remains undisturbed by sorrow and happiness
> And is free from attachment, pride, and avarice.
>
> Ke who discards greed and desires
> And gives up lust for wealth,
> He who is free from Joy and sorrow
> And serves not evil passions—
> Know him verily to be a god in flesh.[21]
> Guru Tegh Bahadur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur did not go to large cities only. He went to those God-forsaken regions which, even today, after many years of freedom and progress of Independent India, are marked as backward, and undeveloped areas and which no minister has ever visited. A temple of spiritual wisdom, and a temple of bread still gives food, rest, solace to the poor, and the destitute in the name of humanity inspired by Guru Tegh Bahadur three centuries ago. These shrines are the only living monuments to the blazing vision of Guru Tegh Bahadur, which tried to unite through a superhuman effort the people of all provinces, all faiths, all creeds, in an abiding unity of ethical ideals, and spiritual freedom. The Sikh Gurus always visualized an India in which language and cultural barriers would fall and their own followers would bridge the gulf between various religious communities and creeds.

Guru Tegh Bahadur so completely identified himself with the sorrow of the people that he gave expression to their agony, and their mental sufferings, and degradation, in poignant words of self-affliction. The world-mind became his mind; the world-soul spoke through his soul; the world-tragedy was reflected in his personal feelings.

He who had exercised a grand control over his mind, and received perfect illumination at a very early age, felt acutely the social, and economic misery of the people, and like a master-artist gave creative expression to the sorrow of the world around him saying : "Ah, to whom shall I express the sorrow of my heart ? Ensnared in greed, it drifts, and shifts, craving evermore for wealth. For the sake of sensual pleasures my mind hankers like a dog at every door and slaves before everyone in utter degradation." "Alas my mind listens not to the counsels of wisdom, and refrains not from evil path. It is recklessly intoxicated in the craze for worldly pleasures."[21]

He who had a prophet father like Guru Hargobind, a prophet son like Guru Gobind Singh, a devoted mother like Nanaki, a self-effacing wife, like Mata Gujari, and dedicated disciples and friends like Bhai Dayal Das, Mati Das, Sati Das, and Bhai Gurditta was deeply moved by the poignant sadness of the existing social relations and maladjustments in the world around him, and said:

"In sorrow and suffering none stands by you,
Wife, friends, sons and relatives
All are with you, if you have wealth
All will forsake you
When you are penniless."
Guru Tegh Bahadur[23]

Thus, his message and teachings, his songs and sermons awakened people to their responsibility and grim realities of human existence and inspired them with the conviction that the spirit of self-consecration alone could liberate them from fear, greed, and slavish mentality. Every man can, through moral and spiritual effort, be a god-in-flesh and be strong enough to meet any challenge to his freedom and integrity. He can be bold enough to disregard heaven and earth. He can be powerful enough to strike at the root of tyranny. All power, all strength, all inspiration should be sought from God.

It was foolish to run to the forests or renounce society to find God :

„Wherefore go to the forest in search of God?
He is all-pervading and ever detached ;
He is the Indwelling Spirit in thee,
Just as fragrance resides in the flower,
Just as the image is reflected in every mirror,
So the Light of God dwells within thee
Seek Him, O brother, in thine own soul.[24]

Guru Tegh Bahadur.

In order to see the reactions to his policy of oppression and forcible conversion, Aurangzeb had sent secret-news reporters (*khufia-navis*) to all the provinces. The news-reporter from Punjab came across some *Hukamnamas* of Guru Tegh Bahadur which could be found with all the *masands* and reported to the Emperor that Guru Tegh Bahadur was collecting money from the people. The author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* says: "Tegh Bahadur gathering many disciples became powerful and thousands of people accompanied him. A contemporary Saint, Hafiz Adam belonging to the order of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi, had gathered about him a multitude of followers. Both of these took to the practice of levying forcible exactions from Hindus as Hafiz Adam did from the Muslims. It would not be strange if with the increase of their influence they created trouble."[25]

The Emperor learnt that the Guru had the largest following in the country. People gave him money in abundance, and he distributed it with open-handedness, keeping only what was barely necessary. He was extremely independent minded, and was loved by the Muslims and Hindus alike.[26] He utterly disregarded all taxes like *Jazia* and was preaching the message of religious freedom and fearlessness. People addressed him as *Sacha Patshah* (the true King).

Ganda Singh and Teja Singh in their, *A Short History of the Sikhs* say: "The progress through the country created such a stir that the Mughal authorities seem to have grown suspicious of his activities and he was hauled up before the Emperor. Raja Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh explained to the Emperor that there was nothing dangerous about the Guru, who was a *fakir*. He stood surety for him and the trouble came to an end."[27]. The learned scholars

state this on the historical evidence of *Padshah Buranji*[28], Malcolms *Sketches*[29], and Forster's *Travels*[30]. All these historical records were written about a century after the incident took place and they erroneously attribute the detention of Guru Hari Krishen under the protective custody of Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh to Guru Tegh Bahadur who was better known to chroniclers than his predecessor. These chroniclers further suggest that after detaining Guru Tegh Bahadur at Delhi for some years, Raja Ram Singh took him along with him to Bengal which means that the Guru was the virtual prisoner of Aurangzeb from 1665 to 1670.

The Assamese record *Padshah Buranji* places the event after the escape of Shivaji from the protective custody of Ram Singh sometime between 1666-1668. According to Malcolm and Forster the cause of the arrest was "the implacable rancour, jealousy and ambition of Ram Rai," and he goes to the extent of blaming him for the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the *Padshah Barunji* blames the Brahmin Bhattacharyas or Hindu priests and the Kazis of the Musalmans for the arrest of the Guru. They reported to the Emperor that "this man does not belong to any particular school of faith; he goes about ravaging the country. The Emperor asked the Guru to appear before him but he did not come. On the other hand he defied the authority of the *Padshah,* and roamed about plundering and destroying the country attended by thirty thousand Nanak-panthis. The Padshah became indignant and he deputed Alo Khan Pathan who captured the Guru". The *Padshah Barunji* further suggests that out of fear Guru Tegh Bahadur sought the protection of Raja Ram Singh who stood surety for him, but the Guru escaped from the prison and went East. Ram Singh asked the Emperor not to take the matter seriously as he was only a *fakir.* The Emperor did not take any action.

All these facts recorded much later are based on flying rumours and hearsay. The sequence of dates and events and the position of Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh in Aurangzeb's court and the movements of Guru Tegh Bahadur during this period for which there is irrevocable evidence, make it clear that there is hardly any truth in this alleged arrest under Ram Singh's custody and escape.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was declared the Guru towards the

end of 1664 A.D. He went to Kiratpur and then founded the city of Nanaki Chak (Anandpur) early in 1665. Towards the end of 1665 he left for his tour towards the East along with his wife, mother and many disciples. Guru Gobind tells us in his autobiography that his mother conceived him when his parents were at Allahabad and he was born at Patna. We learn from Guru Tegh Bahadur's letters that he was at Dacca when Guru Gobind Singh was born at Patna. All this means that Guru Tegh Bahadur was at Allahabad in February 1666 and when his son was born in December 1666 at Patna he was at Dacca in Bengal.

From September 1664 to May 1665 Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ram Singh were not at Delhi but were fighting against Shivaji in the South. So the story of Guru Tegh Bahadur remaining under the protective custody of Raja Ram Singh at Delhi during this period is pure fiction. In June 1665 Shivaji was captured and brought to Delhi and detained under the protective custody of Raja Ram Singh. In August 1666 when Guru Tegh Bahadur was on the way to Dacca, Shivaji escaped. From 1666 to the end of 1668 Raja Ram Singh remained in disgrace and was neither trusted nor allowed to attend court. He was himself a virtual prisoner of the Emperor. So the question of Aurangzeb trusting him with the protective custody of Guru Tegh Bahadur does not arise. Guru Gobind Singh was born and was being brought up at Patna and Guru Tegh Bahadur was moving freely in Bengal.

After his return from Bengal and Assam Guru Tegh Bahadur moved about in the Malwa and Banger desh during the years 1672-73 or thereabout. He had now become very popular. If Guru Tegh Bahadur was hauled up during this period, Ram Singh could not have done anything to help him escape the wrath of the Emperor. Ram Singh was away in Assam and he did not dare to utter a word of protest to the Emperor when he learnt from his mother that Aurangzeb had thrown his son Krishan Singh before a hungry tiger to fight for his life with a dagger in hand. Ram Singh was helpless in saving his own family from the cruelty of Aurangzeb. What protection could he give to Guru Tegh Bahadur. Thus the story that Guru Tegh Bahadur was hauled up before the Emperor and imprisoned and rescued by Ram Singh is factually incorrect. Another stray record the authencity of which

is not established states that the Governor of Sirhind was asked to keep an eye on Guru Tegh Bahadur, but on investigation it was found that there was no political danger in the activities of Guru Tegh Bahadur.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

[1] madr des ham ko le āe,
bhāṅt bhāṅt dāīyan dulrāe
kīnī anik bhāṅt tan rāchā
dīnī bhāṅt bhāṅt kī sichā
Guru Gobind Singh,
Bachiter Nātak: *Apni Kāthā* 7,282

[2] The historical events and the number of places visited in Malwa quite clearly indicate that Guru Tegh Bahadur visited this area after his return from the Eastern tours and the Mālwā tour took him about ten months if not more.

[3] Gurujī ne cūlā kītā muh dhotā, bacan hoyā jāl mithā hai; ethai nau khūh lagan ge. asīn satāṅ nū (siropao) pehnāvāṅ ge.
Sakhi pothi (Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur)

[4] Guru ji kehṅde: eh tā akal dā andhā hai.
Mādho Dās Bairāgi de sewak san Jiwaṅdhe. Jiwaṅdīan dā jamāi sī vasdā. Os ne bhī Guru kī tehal kiti; Guru ji kehyā "Sikhā taiṅ Guru kī tehal kītī hai, aithoṅ uṭha ke apne duābe jai vas; Jiwaṅdhīaṅ nāl Saidpur vāli hove gī; Oh Sikh apne tabar samet uṭh gaya Doabe.
ibid.

[5] ibid
[6] ibid
[7] ibid
[8] ibid
[9] ibid
[10] ibid

[11] Sultan Sākhī Sarwar was an eminent Saint of Lahore who was held in high esteem by the Hindus. A Hindu tribe is known after his name as Sultānī.

[12] *Sakhī Pothī*; Gyan Singh in his *Tawārīkh Guru Khālsā* says that his wife out of fear of the black magic of the Sakhī Sarwar Pir urged him to destroy the arrows.

[13] *Sākhī Pothī*

[14] ibid. The author of the *Sākhī Pothī* speaks of the importance of Damdamā, he says at the time of writing the book only a *mañjī* had been established. We do not know how a few Sikh leaders of S.G.P.C. have assumed the authority to make it the fifth *Takhat*.

[15] *Sākhī Pothī; Tawarīkh Guru Khalsā,*

[16] The name of Bhai Meha is given in the *Sākhī Pothī* as Bhai Pheru, but all other historical records give it as Bhai Meha.

[17] age derā Barreh hoyā ; Guru jī ne saun kā caumāsā derā othe hī rakhyā ; ghodīān rathāṅ kyāṅ bailā nū moṭh cāre ; Gurū jī ne hal päeke bijāe se moṭh.

Sākhī Pothī.

This indicates that Guruji probably started his tour immediately after Baisākhī in March. He spent the rainy months here.

[18] Diwālī ka melā āyā, bahut saṅgtāṅ ayīān . . . . Gurūjī bacan kītā: pandrāṅ deh ethe hor rehnā hai. Guru Nānak jī kā purnīma kā purab karke cadhaṅge ; Guru Nānak ji kā purb hai, praśād karo, tasmaī bhī te kadah phasād bhī, hor pūrī kacaurī bhai . . . . . deh cadhde nū päṅgtān baṭhāi dītīan, Sikh, Sādh, Brahmin, fakīr sabhs nū prasād vartāya. Sāra deh jo koī calke āyā sabhs nū dīā ; purnīmā kā jag pūrā hoyā ; tisī din te Gurū jī kā tis des mai jas hoe rohyā, hai.

Sakhī Pothī

This important reference in this historical record clearly points out: (1) Guru Nānak was born on *Kartik Puranmāshī.* and not on *Baisākh sudi* 3 as is alleged by Meharbān's *Janam* Sākhī and those that followed it. (2) Guru Tegh Bahādur and other Gurus regularly celebrated the birthday of Guru Nānak, thereby refuting the utterly false contention of Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Karam Singh historian that Guru Nānak's birthday began to be celebrated on *Kartīk Puranmāshī* only during Singh Sabha period. (3) It also refutes Karam Singh's contention that Gurpurbs were never celebrated during the Guru period. (4) This record is much older than *Suraj Prakash* and its testimony about the birthday of Guru Nanak is quite significant. While the Handālyīās are inadvertently blamed for introducing *Kartik Puranmāshī* into Bala's *Janam Sākhī,* who introduced *Kartik Puranmāshī* into this and innumerable other Gurparnālīs, and historical records of Udāsīs and Sewa Panthīs ?

[19] "je taiṅ sābtī rakhī tāṅ tehī fer bhī khabar lavāṅge,

ibid

je nirā masaṅd hoe gayā tāṅ tere terī aulād de peś au,
eh pūjā kī biratikā hai, badyāṅ badyāṅ nū dāgh lāya hai.

Sakhī Pothī

[20] bhai kāhūṅ ko det neh nāhi bhai mānat ān,
kahu Nānak sun re manā gyanī tāhi bakhān

Guru Tegh Bahadur Sl: 16

[21] lobh moh māyā mamtā phun au bikhīan kī seva,
harkh sog parsai jih nāhan so mūrat hai deva.

Guru Tegh Bahadur *Rag Gaurī*

Sukh dukh jeh parsai nahī lobh moh abhīmān
kahu Nānak sun re manā so mūrat bhagvān

Guru Tegh Bahadur Sl: 13

[22] birthā kahoṅ kaun sioṅ man kī,
lobh grasīo dashū dis dhāvat āsā lāgio dhan kī,

sukh ke het bahut dukh pāvat sev karat jan jan kī
duār duār suān jioň dolat neh sudh rām bhajan ki.
Guru Tegh Bahadur *Rag Asa*

yah man naik na kahio karai
Sikh Sikhai rehio apnī si durmat te na tare
mad māyā kai bhae bāvro har jas nā ucrai.
ibid

23 dārā mīt put sanbaňdhī sagre dhan sioň lāge,
jab hī nirdhān dekhio nar ko saňg chād sabh bhāge.
ibid

24 kāhe re ban khojan jāī,
sarb nivāsī sadā alepā tohī saňg samāī,
puhap madh jio bās basat hai mukar māhi jaisai chāī
taise hī Harī basai niraňtar ghat hī khojo bhāī
Guru Tegh Bahadur *Rag Dhanāsrī*

25 Raymond and Briggs have wrongly translated this passage and accused the Guru of living on plunder and making common cause with Mohammedan zealot named Hafiz Adam in exhorting money from the Hindus as his colleague did from the Muslims.

A tremendous lot of harm has been done by the wrong translations of these historical records by zealous Indologists, which have not been completely corrected, so far. Still more deplorable is the attitude of some eminent Indian historians who readily accepted these distorted statements of biased writers but did not care to study even those original sources of Sikh history which were available to them in English and Hindi.

26 When Guru Tegh Bahadur became the Guru, his faithful disciples came to his help and increased his influence. He used to live a hard life. He was however very independently inclined. Whatever his disciples brought to him, he spent and kept nothing for himself. In a short time he acquired mastery over all subjects . . . . He did not mind the troubles of long journeys and travelled with an easy mind. When he reached Delhi his disciples came and offered valuable gifts. The Guru did not accept anything. When the Sultan came to know of his openhandedness he was upset.
Bakhat Mal: *Tawarikh-i-Sikhāň.*

27 Ganda Singh and Teja Singh: *"A Short History of the Sikhs"* p 53.

28 "Then there was a Saint of the faith of Guru Nanak, and he became the Guru of a large number of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. He would not take the name of Ram or Grishna or any god or goddess. On meeting a disciple of his own faith he would simply say, Om-i-Guru, Om-i-Guru (Vah Guru Vah Guru)" and nothing else. The Brahmin Bhattacharyas or the Hindu priests and the Kazis of the Musalmans reported to the Padshah, "This man does not belong to any particular

school of faith, he goes about ravaging the country." The Emperor asked the Guru to appear before him but he did not come. On the other hand he defied the authority of the Padshah and roamed about plundering and destroying the country attended by thirty thousand Nanak-panthi sepoys. The Padshah became indignant and he deputed Alo Khan Pathan who captured the Guru. The Padshah ordered the Guru to be executed, who for fear of his life sought the protection of Ram Singh, who became surety for the leader. But the aforesaid Nanakipanthi Guru also made his escape. The Padshah accused Ram Singh saying. "How is that you have allowed the guru to flee, though you yourself stood surety for him?" To this Ram Singh replied, "What is he? Only a Raja or a Nawab is worthy of your vengeance. He is only a mendicant fakir."

Padshah Buranji Tr S. K. Bhuyan p 163

29 He (Tegh Bahadur) however had to encounter the most violent opposition, from his nephew Ram Rai remained at Delhi and endeavoured by every art and intrigue to effect his ruin. He was seized and brought to Delhi in consequences of his nephew's misrepresentations ; and after being in prison for two years was released at the intercession of Jai Singh, Raja of Jaypur when he accompanied him to Bengal. Tegh Bahadur afterwards took up his abode at the city of Patna but was pursued with implacable rancour, by jealousy and ambition of Ram Rai who at last accomplished the destruction of his rival. He was brought from Patna and by all accounts of the same author publicaly put to death without even the allegation of his crime.

Malcolm: *Sketch of the Sikhs* p 39.

30 Forster: *Travels* I 260.

CHAPTER XXII

BRAHMINS SEARCH FOR THE SAVIOUR

THE sinister power of the sinister zealot, Aurangzeb, had changed the whole of his Empire into a rigidly obedient machine, and like the modern dictators of totalitarian states he had started the annihilation, and forced conversion of those who believed differently from him. Like the Fascists and other intolerant ideologists of our own era, Aurangzeb's lust for money, and power combined such an intensity of intolerance towards those of other races, religions, and cultures, as to make him ruthless in his use of deceit, or violence to attain his ends. Fanaticism is a worldwide disease, and it is as common in the twentieth century as it was in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Power corrupts all despots who try to grasp universal power; victory leads them to a misuse of victory and instead of congratulating themselves on having persuaded so many to accept their own pet illusions, on having obtained followers glad to live and die for their cause, these conquistadors succumb to the itch for converting both the minority and the majority into one grand totality. They crave to enforce their dogma on all others. They arrange to brand nonconformity as a crime. Ever renewed is the curse that awaits all religious and political ideologies, that are fanatically imposed. No matter what the dominant idea may be, whenever it has recourse to terror as the instrument of imposing uniformity upon alien convictions, it is no longer idealism, but brutality. Even the purest truth when thrust upon the unconvinced becomes a crime against humanity, and a sin against the soul of man. Aurangzeb sought to convert *Dar-al-Harb* (land of infidelity) into *Dar-al-Islam,* (land of faith). To him even a *Shia* Muslim was a heretic and he usually called the Persians, who were Shias, the carrion eating demons, (*Irani ghul-i-babybani*). He even named a dagger presented to him by a noble, Rafzi-slayer (Shia-slayer). The flood-gates of fanaticism were opened on all Hindus. The poor, and the low caste had the greatest temptation to enter a society, where they would be treated as equal. But when

the middle class began to be converted forcibly they found that the Brahmins still treated them with contempt for having abandoned their faith.

The middle class Hindus approached the Emperor and suggested that if he wished to build a *Dar-ul-Islam,* he should convert the Brahmins first. They were the repository of Hindu faith and scriptures, and they ruled Hindu society with a power surpassing that of Kings. The idea caught the imagination of the wily Emperor. Nothing was simpler than killing or converting the Brahmins and opening the way for the easy conversion of the rest of Hindus India. He immediately gave orders that the Brahmins of Benaras, Kurukshetra, Kashmir, and Hardwar should be speedily converted. "Thus the emperor had in those days thrown hundreds of Brahmins into jail, in the hope, that if they first embraced the religion of the prophet, the rest of the Hindus would readily follow their example."[1] The Hindus of the whole country were in consternation.

Even before Aurangzeb let loose the hounds of persecution, he saw for four weeks a large comet over Delhi threatening the superstitious Emperor with dark forebodings of the national calamity of which he was to be the author and instrument. The Puritan temper of the Emperor had already induced him to abjure all pleasures of the senses to the point of Brahminical vegetarianism. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water, says Tevernier.[2] When he saw a comet over Delhi he ate only millet, bread, and water for four weeks. His tyrannical impulses made his ostentatious piety the instrument of his despotism and cruelty.

Even when the indiscriminate killing and conversion of Brahmins and other Hindus was going on, in the name of a religion that cannot tolerate the very existence of idolatry and idolators, "the orthodox Aurangzeb adored and walked round the pretended footprints, and hair of the Prophet Mohammed (*asar-i-sharif*), as if these were representations of the Deity. It is difficult to distinguish between his attitude towards them and the Hindu worship of Vishnu's footmarks on stone ;" so says Sarkar.[3]

The devouring flames of fanaticism now began to encircle the Brahmins of Benares, Kurukshetra, Hardwar and Kashmir. Aurangzeb was convinced that if the Brahmins were once

eliminated, the Hindu centres of teaching which were entirely controlled by them, and the Hindu priestly class that controlled, and ruled the society, would disappear ; and Hinduism was then bound to collapse. Other Hindus would automatically accept Islam.[4]

In this condition of helplessness, the leaders of the Brahmins held a number of secret meetings to face the challenge. "During the forty-nine years of Aurangzeb's reign Kashmir was administered by no less than fourteen governors sent from Delhi. Most of them were broad-minded and efficient. They dispensed justice and carried on the administration well. In times of unforeseen calamities like famines, floods, and fires they gave succour, and relief to the suffering people." Unfortunately a bigoted, and cruel administrator, Iftikar Khan, was appointed governor in 1671 A.D., one who tyrannised over the Brahmins to such an extent that it is said that he sent to the Emperor bundles of sacred-threads of Brahmins, he had either converted or forcibly killed. "Some pious men among the Pundits then met, and decided to go to Amarnath and invoke the mercy of Siva there, for deliverance from this bigot. At the Amarnath Cave one of the Pundits saw Lord Siva in a dream, who told him to go to Tegh Bahadur the ninth Sikh Guru, in the Punjab, and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. About 500 Pundits proceeded to Anandpur where Guru Tegh Bahadur was living."[5] According to another chronicler the Brahmins who were in Delhi prison prayed day and night for deliverance. A saintly soul amongst them dreamt that Guru Tegh Bahadur could save them from annihilation. So he wrote letters to the leaders of Brahmins at Kurukshetra, Hardwar, and Srinagar, and requested them to go to Guru Tegh Bahadur, and beg him to save their faith of Sacred thread and Brahmanical symbols, from physical extinction. The best that was in Hinduism and the very foundation of their culture was on the point of being completely annihilated.

The Brahmins of all the major centres selected as their leader a Kashmiri scholar, named Kirpa Ram. He was a Saraswati Brahmin from Mattan, a place forty miles to the east of Srinagar, and Head of the Sanskrit Institutions in Kashmir.[6] All the Brahmins had vowed that they would

unconditionally submit to the wishes and advice of Guru Tegh Bahadur, who they felt sure would certainly meet the challenge of Aurangzeb.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was holding a durbar close to his residence at Anandpur, when Pundit Kirpa Ram came with his deputation representing the Brahmins of all schools and all centres, he handed to the Guru written appeals from eminent Brahmins who had been thrown into prison and then told his tale of woe. Kirpa Ram said : "Master, all our physical and spiritual strength has failed. Shivaji and the Rajputs are fighting for their hearths and homes in the South. No one dares to come to the north and risk either meeting Aurangzeb or finding some ways and means of putting an end to the Mughal Emperor's ruthless campaign of annihilating the Brahmins and the cultural roots of Hinduism. We are utterly helpless, Lord. Your grandfather accepted the challenge of Jehangir and sacrificed his life for upholding his faith and ideals. Your father accepted the challenge of Shah Jahan and defeated his army in four battles, and did not rest till the Emperor realised that it was futile to fight the ever victorious Guru. We now come to you, Saviour, to protect our dharma, to save the sacred-thread and our frontal marks, the symbols of the best that is in Hinduism, even though you do not believe in them. Protect us in our utter misery just as Lord Krishna protected the honour of Draupadi. Save us from the sword of the tyrant. Save the Hindu dharma from being completely wiped out by the armed might of Aurangzeb.[7]

Guru Tegh Bahadur was deeply moved by the woeful tale of the Brahmins. Kirpa Ram was in tears when he told the harrowing tales of torture and suffering, the Hindus in general and the Brahmins in particular, had to undergo if they refused to accept Islam. Their shrines had been desecrated, their holy books had been burnt, their homes looted, and they were offered the only choice between Islam or death. Guru Tegh Bahadur consoled them saying : "Now that you have come all the way for help and protection, you will certainly get it. The House of Guru Nanak and his grand Faith was established to uphold the fundamental rights of *dharma* (righteousness) and to extend their moral support for all noble causes of humanity. Every human being and every religious com-



Aurangzeb *(a contemporary portrait)*



Anandpur: the place where the Brahmins of North India met Guru Tegh Bahadur under the leadership of Pundit Kirpa Ram begging him to save Hinduism from being annihilated by Aurangzeb

munity has the right to worship God in its own way. Like the Sufi Saints, Aurangzeb could spread Islam through enlightened teachings, example and illumination, but he is doing something un-Islamic by forcibly converting people to Islam, and preventing all other forms of worship except his own. You have come a long way. Take some food and rest. I am giving serious thought to it. I will not rest till something is done." So saying he asked Bhai Dayal Das and Bhai Mati Das to look after the needs of the visitors.

Guru Tegh Bahadur sat there brooding over the sorrow, and the helplessness of his countrymen, his eyes gleaming with heavenly compassion as he reflected on the vastness of the agony of his countrymen. He did not believe in idolatry. He did not believe in the sacred-thread and the frontal marks. He did not believe in Brahmanism ; he and his predecessors had been preaching against it for nearly two hundred years. But could he bear to see such bloodshed, such cruelty, and oppression, and such inhuman treatment of any section of humanity ? The Hindus, the Shias, the Christians were aspiring for divine light in their own way. Every form of worship however crude was the yearning of the creature for the Eternal. The whole life of the universe with its countless languages, creeds, and philosophical schools, seen and unseen, conscious and unconscious, was an act of worship, glorifying the Sustainer and the Creator. If some Muslim or Christian Divines had come with similar complaint against a Hindu tyrant, Guru Tegh Bahadur would have laid down his life. Now the helpless Brahmins had come to him after they realised that no Hindu warrior or saint, no Hindu leader or divine, no Hindu *sannyasi* or *yogi* dared to accept the challenge of Aurangzeb to their freedom of worship and to tell them : "I will die for your freedom of worship." To a true prophet of God like Guru Tegh Bahadur, every little creature, ignorant or wise, black or white God-worshipper, Nature-worshipper, or idolator, was a precious creation of the Supreme Lord, each made according to His will, and each carrying the same hidden flame of His Light in his soul. When any one tried to torment, agonise, strangle, destroy, and physically annihilate any section of humanity, in the name of any narrow totalitarian creed, or religion, and politics, it was his duty to stake all his power and spirit of self-

sacrifice for protecting and defending it. The woeful tales of the Brahmins moved Guru Tegh Bahadur to profound pity and compassion. Their sorrow became his personal sorrow. Their grief and suffering weighed heavily on his mind.[8]

At this moment came young Gobind Das, who was now about nine years old. Never had he seen such a gloom and dumb silence in the Guru's durbar. He had never seen the calm and secure face of his beloved father so sad and reflecting such agonising sorrow. He bowed and touched the feet of his father and asked : "What has happened dear Father ? What weighs so heavily on your compassionate soul that an unusual sadness is reflected from your divine face and eyes ?"

"My Son," said Guru Tegh Bahadur, "You already know that Aurangzeb has started desecrating Hindu temples and is forcibly converting the Hindus. Now he has got into his head that if he destroys all Brahmins, and their centres of learning, and teaching he will destroy Hinduism root and branch. These Kashmiri and other Brahmins have told woeful tales of their sorrows and sufferings. Thousands of them have been killed, thousands of them have been thrown into the prison. Thousands of them have been forcibly converted. Their temples have been desecrated, their *ashramas* have been destroyed, their homes have been burnt. Something must be done to put a stop to it."

"Gurudeva,"[9] said young Gobind, "They have come to Guru Nanak's durbar, where all suffering is healed, where every destitute person gets asylum, where every seeker of truth and solace gets light and peace. Something must certainly be done to put a stop to it. Who else can have the courage and wisdom to save the Brahmins from such a fate ? Where else can they go for healing consolation and protection from tyranny, except to Guru Nanak's durbar?"

Guru Tegh Bahadur was delighted to see that young Gobind was fully conscious of the moral and spiritual responsibility of the Guru towards suffering humanity. What worried him still was that if he accepted the challenge of Aurangzeb and fought for the freedom of worship he was bound to lose his life in the battle. Gobind was too young. Would the child be able to face the hardships that might follow his death? Would he be able to lead the Sikh community, and

the freedom fighters, and protect them from all harm and dangers, that would come to them. He said to his son : "My noble Child, the only solution to this grave problem is that some great man, some heroic soul must go to Aurangzeb, and convince him of the error of his policy, and the dangers of inhumanly shedding the blood of the innocent people in the name of religion. If he succeeds, our country will have a happy and glorious future. If he fails, he will have to sacrifice his life for the cause.[10]

"Father" said the enlightened Gobind, "who is greater than thee in these gloomy times, who can be equal to this great and stupendous task ? Who else but my beloved Father can face the Emperor and try to show him the right path to peace, unity and harmony ? Who else besides thee, O Gurudeva, can sacrifice his life, if such a crisis arises?"[11]

The face of Guru Tegh Bahadur once more was free from worry or sadness. Addressing Kirpa Ram, the leader of the Brahmins, he said, "Rest here for a day or two and then go and tell Aurangzeb that if he succeeds in converting Tegh Bahadur then all the Brahmins and thereafter the Hindus of the whole country would accept Islam. If however he failed to do so, he must give up his present policy of forcible conversion. Let Aurangzeb stop the unnecessary bloodshed of Brahmins and other Hindus till I meet him."[12]

Pundit Kirpa Ram and his associates, who according to Kashmir historians, were 500 in number, were extremely delighted. They sent a petition through the governor of Lahore to the Emperor that Guru Tegh Bahadur was prepared to come to him and discuss the matter of his religious policy. If the Emperor succeeded in converting Guru Tegh Bahadur all the Hindus of India would accept Islam, but if he failed to convert him the campaign of forcible conversion should be ended and the freedom of worship given to all the people in the realm.[13]

The assurance given to the Brahmins caused great concern in the Guru's durbar and household. Everyone knew that it was not easy to change the bigoted mind of the Emperor, and once the Emperor offered his usual choice between Islam or death, Guru Tegh Bahadur would certainly choose death. The very thought of this grim reality saddened every heart.

Aurangzeb had just come from his unsuccessful battle with the Afghans near Hasan Abdal, after two years and two months. All historical records except the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, whose statements and dates after the tenth year are haphazard and not very correct, and as Lane-poole puts it, are very hazy after Aurangzeb's prohibition of official chronicles in the eleventh year of his reign,[14] directly or indirectly admit that Aurangzeb was back at Delhi at this time. Khafi Khan, Latif, Guru Gobind Singh's Autobiography, Elphinstone, and other writers on this period clearly indicate that at least a few months before Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution Aurangzeb was at Delhi.[15]

As soon as Aurangzeb received the assurance from the Brahmins of Kashmir, Kurukshetra, Hardwar, and Benaras that they would all accept Islam, if he succeeded in converting Guru Tegh Bahadur, he was extremely happy. The matter had been made very simple for him. Convert one man by persuasion or by force and his dream of making this land of infidles, the land of Muslim believers would come true. He summoned Guru Tegh Bahadur to come to the Capital. "It was a part of Aurangzeb's policy to have no permanently fixed residence but to live alternatively at the old and new Capital (Agra and Delhi)."[16] He probably sent the summons from Agra. Guru Tegh Bahadur made preparations to go and meet the Emperor at Agra.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] "The Emperor had in those days thrown hundreds of Brahmins into Jail in the hope that if they first embraced the religion of the Prophet, the rest of the Hindus would readily follow their example."

S. M. Latif : *History of the Punjab*

tab Mughal cughatā, Delhipatā, bheo kupatā, madmatā
neh jānī satā, in alvatā gahī kukatā, manmatā ;
cāhi un karnī sagrī dharnī dīn suvarnī turkānī ;
maňdī bahu gere, devan kere, binhī dere abhimānī ;
kichu lobh dikhāe zulum kamāe turk banāe bahu Hindu
jo tilak lagāvai, janju pāvai teh santāvai turkiňdū

Gyan Singh : *Panth Parkash Lithop* 115

[2] Tavernier's Travels, transl Dr. V. Ball, Vol I p 338

[3] While the footprints which Aurangzeb used to worship have disappeared the hair of the prophet is still preserved in Kashmir and is considered genuine by the Muslims of India.

The Muslims of the Arabic countries do not give the same importance to it. It is however not proper to dismiss it as a "pretended hair." Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p 462.

There is far less possibility of its being pretended than the footprints of Vishnu and other gods and goddesses and the lingams of Siva.—(Author)

[4] ek din es (Aurangzeb) vicāryā eh Brahmin jo hain Hinduān nū vidyā deńde hain ; je pehlāń brahmanā nū dīn vic lyāvāń tāń sabh Hindu dharm thoń hīn hoe āp mere mazhab vic āvange Brahmanā nū bahutyāń nū pakaḍ ke Musalmān lagā karan.

Bhai Mani Singh : *Sikhaň dī Bhagatmāl MSS Copy.*

[5] Iftikhar Khan, a Governor of Aurangzeb, was using force to convert the Pundits in Kashmir to Islam. Some pious men among the Pundits then met and decided to go to Amarnath and invoke the mercy of Siva there for deliverance from the tyrannies of the bigot. At the Amarnath cave one of the Pundits saw in a dream Lord Siva Who told him to go to Tegh Bahadur the ninth Guru of the Sikhs, in the Punjab and ask for his help to save the Hindu Religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. About 500 Pundits proceeded to Anandpur where Guru Tegh Bahadur was living.

P. N. Kaul Bamzai : *A History of Kashmir,* p 544

[6] Hind vikhe aňdh ghor macīo jab, sādhū saňt neh dekhan pāv
dharm de thāń adharm hovai, neh rachik gau garīb dikhāvat,
tab Tegh Bahādur Hind kī cādar the cak Nānaki bio batāvat
Seva Harī is ghor kalū meh, Guru jaňjū tike kī lāj rakhāvat.
dukhī bipr ju cal ke āe purī anaňd,
bāňh asādī pakarīe Gur Hargobind ke caňd.
Tegh Bahādur Jagat Gur, sun im hahākār
rachak gau garīb kā kaljug kā avtār.
hath jor kahīo Kirpā Rām
Datya Brahmin Mattan grām
hamro bal ab rehio neh kāī
he Gur Tegh Bahadur Rai.

Seva Singh : *Shahib Bilās.*

[7] gaj ke baňdhan kātanhāre,
tum Gur Nānak hai avtāre
jim Draupdī rākhī lāj
deīo svar Sudāme kāj
phirat phirat Prabhu āe thāre
thāk paroi hauň tau Darbāreī
Seva Harī im arj Gujārī
tum Kaljug ke Krishn Murārī.
Gur dar te im bipr ne birthā kahī sunāe
avar vāsna neh Prabhū takī tau sarnāe

ravi cañd hai jagat mai jau lau dharn akās
nām rahe sadīv tau puro jan kī ās.

ibid.

[8] is samai sabh khatrī brahmin dukhī ho kar, dako dole khāñde Anañdpur Guru Tegh Bahādurji pās āe te nimrtā sahit bentī kītī ke Mahārāj Aurangzeb de zulmā dā had Hindu dharm dī khetī nū barbād kar rehyā hai, jehde zulam te pāp kade sune bhi nahī san oh akhīn dekhde hāñ. Aurangzeb de zulum te Hindūāñ de dukhāñ ne Tegh Bahādur de dil nū pānī pānī kar ditā.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarikh Gurukhālsā* p 278

[9] Guru Gobind Singh addressed his father as Gurudeva: or Pitaji. The Father was also his spiritual Preceptor. This was the traditions set by Guru Arjan who also addressed his father as Gurudev in his hymns :

[10] tab Satgur iv man thehrāī
bin sir dīe jagat duka pāī.

Seva Singh : *Shahīd bilās.*

[11] jad tak koi satpurkh Mahatmā Hind dharm vāste apnā sir balīdan nahī kardā tad tak es dharm dā thehrāonā aukhā hai.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarīkh Gurū Khālsā* p 278

They (Brahmins) told him about the atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son, Govind Singh who was then a child of nine years of age and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pundits sitting there in distress and his father mute as a fish. He asked his father why he looked pensive. Guru Tegh Bahadur, pointing towards the Pundits, told his son mournfully that the Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and that he thought, they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrificed for them.

P. N. Kaul Bamzai : *A History of Kashmir,* p 555.

[12] Guru Gobind Singh, with folded hands said to him : "Father who else is a holier man, more fit for being sacrificed than yourself, for saving the Hindu Religion," Guru Tegh Bahadur replied "I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that as you are still a child who would take care of you after me." Guru Govind Singh replied earnestly, "Almighty would take care of me." Guru Tegh Bahadur was pleased to hear the courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of Pundits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight away that they, together with all the Brahmins of Kashmir were quite ready to embrace Islam if Tegh Bahadur who was the Chief Guru would first be converted.

ibid p 555

eh bacan sunke hor tāñ koī kuch nā bolyā Guru Gobiñd

Singh jī ne (jo nau baras dī umar vic sau baras dī akal rakhde san) hath joḍ ke arj kītī ki mahārāj āp nāloṅ Hindu Dharm dā rākhā te pyarā satpurkh, mahātmā hor kaun haī. eh sukhan sace dharm te dūr andes hauṅsle vāle sunke hor taṅ sabh, lok hake bake rahe par Guru Tegh Bahādur man vic bahut khusī hoe ate Guru Gobind Singh nū bade pratapī te samrath samajh ke chāti nāl lagāe lītā ; te ose vakt sabhnā Hinduaṅ nū keh ditā kī tusīṅ jao, Badshāh nū keh devo ke asāde Guru, Tegh Bahādurji nū pehle jekar din Muhamdī manau asīn sabh ape hī Musalmān ban jāvāṅ ge.

Gyan Singh : *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* p 278

[13] The Pundits then went to Zālim Khan, the then Governor of Lahore and presented to him their petition to Aurangzeb. The emperor was highly gratified to read it and called the Qazis and Maulvis in a durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pundits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid down. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangement for their their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselytising, for he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

P. N. Kaul Bamzai : *A History of Kashmir* p 555

[14] S. M. Latif in his *History of Lahore* gives the years and dates of each Emperor's visit to Lahore. On page 67 of this work he writes : "The court was held at Lahore during the years 1668-69 when his Majesty visited Hasan Abdal and other places in the frontier. He contradicts the dates of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri.* While at Lahore His Majesty composed the following ode which he was pleased to send Khalil-ullah Khan with an autographed letter.

According to Elphinstone and Edwardes and Garret, Aurangzeb returned to Delhi as soon as the Satnami revolt had taken a serious turn. He prepared some prayers and amulets with his own hands and attached them to the Imperial standards telling his men that these would counteract the magic of the infidel.

[15] Guru Gobind Singh in his Autobiography, quoted in the next two chapters clearly says that Aurangzeb asked Guru Tegh Bahadur to show him some miracles, as the last escape from execution. Aurangzeb according to Municci generally gave 3 days for performing the miracle. Because Guru Tegh Bahadur refused to show miracle to save his life, he was executed. Aurangzeb could ask for a miracle only if he was himself present at Delhi. Aurangzeb could not have asked for a miracle to be shown to him while he was at Hasan Abdal (now in Pakistan) and Guru Tegh Bahadur was at Delhi. It was certainly not an execution on a mere warrant

issued from Hasan Abdul as J. N. Sarkar suggests. Such an execution would have taken place at Lahore and not at Delhi as it happened in the case of Guru Arjan.

There is another very important historical record which indirectly suggests that Aurangzeb was at Delhi a few months before the death of Qazi Abdul Wahhab, who died fifteen days after he read the fatwa of Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution. The Venetian physician Niccolao Mauncci reports the presence of Aurangzeb at Delhi in the following incident which took place a few months before the death of the Qazi.

"The daughter of Abdul Wahhab on learning that the king was marrying off his daughters and nieces also wanted to be married. She managed to get her father to give her in marriage without his knowing it. It was in this way. She got up friendship with a youth in the neighbourhood who came and went secretly without the father suspecting anything. Next she decided to leave the house one day in a covered palanquin having first sent all the property to a place of security. Then she went in the youth's company to the qazis public audience. On arriving there the youth said to Abdul Wahhab that he and the women in the palinquin had made a vow to be married to him. The Qazi not recognising the woman to be his daughter asked if she consented to marriage with the youth. "Disguising the voice she said "Yes". The Qazi performed the ceremony and dismissed them. The bridegroom therefore hastened at once to the Captain of the guard, an acquaintance of his friend to let him speak with the King and get His Majesty to act the godfather in the matter. Aurangzeb laughed over the story and at once gave an order to bring the Qazi to him before he had gone home.

Manucci further reports that after this incident he fell ill and died a few months afterwards. Qazi Abdul Wahhab died fifteen days after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur. So the incident indicates that Aurangzeb was at Delhi a few months before Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed. It is quite possible that Aurangzeb reached the Capital a few months before the execution.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PASSION

A PROFOUND sorrow weighed on every heart as Guru Tegh Bahadur made preparations to leave for Delhi to meet the Emperor. Everyone felt that the Guru was leaving them to undertake a superhuman task for which he was prepared to stake his life. Many saints, sages, and heroes had died for the sake of their own convictions, but no one in the history of the world had laid down his life for the religious ideals, in which one did not believe. No one had said, to this day as did Guru Tegh Bahadur. "I will die for the religious freedom of the Hindus, the freedom to worship the Diety through idolatry and images, the freedom to wear the Sacred thread, though I myself do not believe in any of those principles."

His Ministers, Diwan Mati Das, Dayal Das, Sati Das and the High Priest Gurditta, were consulted on the last arrangements. Their last wishes and the boons they sought from the Master, who was highly pleased with their services were granted. He was prepared to do anything for them and to grant any of their requests. They sought only one boon, only one last favour from the Master. That was to accompany him to Delhi, and share all the ordeals, afflictions, and troubles, of the moral battle he was to fight with Aurangzeb. If Guru Tegh Bahadur lived on this earth, they would live. If he faced death at the hands of the ruthless Emperor, they too would die. Life was unimaginable for them on this earth without their Beloved Master, Guru Tegh Bahadur. He had kept them close to himself in all the joys and sorrows of life and they now begged the Guru to permit them to remain with him unto the last. Guru Tegh Bahadur held these apostles in highest respect. They now wished to share with him the ordeal and hardship of Aurangzeb's prison. They now wished to share with him the cup of martyrdom and to live with him in immortality, just as they had shared the glory of his earthly life. Guru Tegh Bahadur granted the request. Diwan Mati Das, Bhai Dayal Das, Bhai Sati Das, and the

High Priest Bhai Gurditta, were to accompany him, while Bhai Uda Rathaur and Bhai Jaita were to reach Delhi earlier.

The parting from his mother Nanaki, wife Gujari, son Gobind, and disciples was pathetic. Everyone wished to follow him to Delhi, but he asked them to desist from doing so. Guru Tegh Bahadur met Holy Mother Nanaki just before his departure and sought her blessings. She had been asking her son not to risk his life, but she knew her prophet son was extremely independent minded, and nothing could deter him from what he conceived to be the path of righteousness. She embraced him and kissed him saying : "If anything happens to you my son, my life will become empty and meaningless. Take care of yourself."

Guru Tegh Bahadur then instructed his wife to take good care of young Gobind. She was anxious to accompany her husband, and to share with him the affliction, and suffering of the greatest self-sacrifice he had undertaken. But the will of her husband was to her the Will of God. She bowed and touched his feet, and begged him to grant her strength and courage to face the difficult times ahead. Guru Tegh Bahadur assured her, that her son, Gobind, would himself be a source of immense courage and inspiration to her, and to humanity. He then embraced and blessed young Gobind. He asked his brother-in-law Kirpal and his nephews Sango Shah, Jit Mal, Gulab Chand, Ganga Ram, and Mahri Chand, to help Mata Gujari to look after Gobind. His fundamental education was complete. Gobind was conscious of his destiny and mission. He had to be given some further training, and education in each field. He had to be helped in the administration and control of the various missionary centres spread all over India. He had to be protected from all physical harm from Aurangzeb or any other enemy.

Bhai Dayal Das met his brothers, Bhai Jetha, Bhai Hathi Chand, and Bhai Mani Ram (later Bhai Mani Singh), and took a promise from them that they would dedicate their lives for the cause of the young Gobind and never leave his durbar, a promise which they readily gave, and fulfilled by living and dying for the Guru's cause.[2] Having made all arrangements for the virtual transfer of his authority in case he did not come back, Guru Tegh Bahadur left Anandpur

with the four great apostles and camped at Saifabad to meet his friend Nawab Saifuddin for the last time.

Saifuddin was very happy to see that Guru Tegh Bahadur had especially come to see him on his way to the Capital. It only showed the deep personal affection the Guru and his apostles had for him. But he felt extremely sad to learn about the grave and tragic mission on which the Guru was going to Delhi. Saifuddin knew Aurangzeb very well. He had visited his court a number of times. He foresaw that Guru Tegh Bahadur's persuasions would have very little influence on him, because of the temptation behind the Guru's offer, that if he succeeded in converting him all the Brahmins, and subsequently other Hindus would accept Islam, but if he failed to do so, the Emperor must change his policy of forcible conversion. This offer would more readily inflame his fanaticism than his good sense or spiritual consciousness which was completely absent in the hard hearted orthodox piety of Aurangzeb, a malady not peculiar to the Mughal Emperor, but one from which many religious reformers of the West like Calvin, and other destroyers of heretics, also suffered. Other Muslim friends of Guru Tegh Bahadur like Muhammed Bakhsh of Samana also came there and urged the Guru not to be in a hurry to go to Delhi. Their devotion, personal affection, and services persuaded the Guru to prolong his stay at Saifabad. Whenever Guru Tegh Bahadur decided to leave, the prayerful entreaties of Saifuddin, and his deep love for him would persuade the Guru to stay on for a few days more. Thus, while normally the Guru might not have camped there for more than a few days, Saifuddin's deep love for him succeeded in retaining the Guru as his honoured and revered guest for more than a month.[3]

The Emperor was impatient of delay. He sent a warrant of arrest because the suspicious Emperor felt that the Brahmins might have tried to fool him.[4] He knew that the Sikh Guru was not an idolator, and did not believe in the Sacred thread of the Brahmins. He now wished to carry his plan of converting India to *Dar-ul-Islam* to its logical conclusion. The officers sent to Anandpur with the warrant of arrest learnt that Guru Tegh Bahadur had already left for the Capital. When they came to Saifabad and made inquiries about the Guru's whereabouts from Saifuddin, the

Nawab was unnerved. He knew that if by chance the Guru arrested him from his house, he would go down in history as traitor and informer. He silently warned all his men to closely guard the Guru, and even sacrifice their life to prevent his arrest from his house. He then informed the Officer making inquiries that the Guru was on his way to Delhi. Saifuddin was himself a very highly respected Nawab. When Guru Tegh Bahadur came to know about it, he was pained to learn about the embarrassment caused to his noble host. He immediately decided to leave for the Capital. The Emperor was believed to be at Agra ; so he speedily moved towards Agra. Mohammed Bakhsh of Samana then begged the Guru to stay with him for at least a few days. Guru Tegh Bahadur agreed to spend a night with him. Mohammed Bakhsh offered to the Guru innumerable gifts, and a good deal of money which the Guru distributed amongst the poor. From Samana the Guru moved on swiftly to Agra. He camped in a garden on the outskirts of the Agra City and devised a novel way of announcing his arrival to the authorities.

Guru Tegh Bahadur saw a young shepherd grazing sheep and goats nearby. He asked the boy to bring sweets worth two rupees for him, and for packing them up he gave a costly shawl. The innocent boy went to the biggest sweetmeat mart and when he asked for sweets worth two rupees (a big amount in those days when a good marriage ceremony in which innumerable people were entertained cost less than fifteen rupees) the shopkeeper was taken aback. And when he a saw a costly shawl with him he felt sure that he had stolen the money, and the shawl. He took the boy to the Kotwali (Police station). The shepherd-boy asked the Police Officer to accompany him and see things for himself. When the Police Officer arrived there, he found Guru Tegh Bahadur and his companions. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave the shawl and the money as a gift to the shepherd-boy and asked the Police Officer to inform the Emperor about his arrival.[5] The Police Officer told Guru Tegh Bahadur that the Emperor had left for Delhi, and he also would have to be taken to Delhi. The Sikhs and other admirers of Guru Tegh Bahadur came to know about the Guru's surrender to the authorities too late. Many of them flocked to the Kotwali to have has last

darsans. The next day Guru Tegh Bahadur and his companions were taken to Delhi, and according to the instruction of the Emperor were first kept under house arrest. The Emperor very much hoped that he would be able to tempt Guru Tegh Bahadur to accept Islam ; so, though he instructed his officers to be strictly vigilant, he at once arranged for a comfortable stay and allowed special visitors to meet him. The Mughal Officers who took him from Agra to Delhi were extremely courteous to him.[6]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Jethā Manīyā adī Sikh rahe dasm Gur pās
Dayala Udā gail gur, gae khaśt sikh khās.
Sewa Singh: *Shahid Bilās,* p 60

es vakt, Bhai Gurditta, Bhai Uda, Bhai Dayala, Bhai Jaita Diwan Mati Ram, eh pānj Sikh nal san.
Gyan Singh: *Tawarīkh Gurū Khālsā.*

panj Sikh Guru dhig rahe
jinoh saňg ko haṭh bahu gahe
Mati Dās ik Gurū Diwān
rehat Samīp sadīv sujān,
ride sudh sevā bahu karī
azmat lahī kumar parharī
gyanvān samrath sabh rīt
Dhīraj adi briňd gun cīt.
driňd man karke sang na tyāgā
Sri Gurdev Caran anurāgā
dusar rehio saňg Gurditta
bridh ke bans janam jin litā.
doe eh saňg apar sikh tin
rahe Guru ke nikat prabīn
Sūraj Prakāsh Rās 12 Ansu 31

[2] Bhai Dayal Das had ten brothers. All except Amar Chand who appeared to have died young died the death of martyrs:

1. Bhai Jetha Singh	martyred on	11th October 1711 A.D.
2. Bhai Mani Singh	„	24th June 1744 A.D.
3. Bhai Dan Singh	„	7th December 1705 A.D.
4. Bhai Man Singh	„	3rd April 1708 A.D.
5. Bhai Rup Singh	„	11th October 1711 A.D.
6. Bhai Jagat Singh	„	24th June 1734 A.D.
7. Sohan Chand	„	20th March 1691 A.D.
8. Bhai Lehna Singh	„	20th February 1669 A.D.
9. Bhai Rai Singh	„	30th December 1705 A.D.
10. Bhai Hathi Chand	„	18th September 1688

[3] Gyan Singh in his *Tawarikh Guru Khālsā* says that the Guru stayed with Saifuddin for about two months.

[4] pun ehdiye dvai kīne tyārī
kar tāgīd bisāl ucārī
apne saṅg jāe kar āno
apar fareb kare neh māno
tin bin aṭak rehio bad kājā
jan Hindun ka diḍ darvājā.
Sūraj Prakāsh : Rās 12, *Aṅsū* 31.

[5] All historical records give this incident. There is a historic shrine in the place where Guru Tegh Bahādur was arrested.

There is some uncertainty about the place where Guru Tegh Bahādur was arrested. According to Kesar Singh Chibber's *Bansāvalināmā*, he was arrested at Malakpur near Rupar. There is hardly any other record supporting his contention. The story of the arrest itself is rather incredible. Another stray record whose authenticity, is yet doubtful suggests that the Faujdar of Sirhind arrested Guru Tegh Bahādur and kept him in prison from two or three months. When the Emperor returned from Hasan Abdul he was sent to Delhi. This is quite probable. The name of the man who arrested him is given as Alif Khan. Some mystery still shrouds the details of Guru Tegh Bahādur's arrest, imprisonment and execution. The discovery of some new historical documents throwing light on this extremely important event of Guru Tegh Bahādur's life may throw some more light on it to clear the confusion. The oldest record, Bhai Mani Singh's *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl* says: *"Badshāh dā farmān paunṅcia; tāṅ Sāhib* (Guru Tegh Bahādur) *Delhi prapat hoe"*. The Emperor's summon came Guru Tegh Bahādur surrendered himself at Delhi. This statement by a contemporary historian seems to be correct.

[6] *Sūraj Prakāsh Rās* 12, *Aṅsū* 38-39.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MARTYRDOM

When I was mature enough,
To shoulder duties and responsibilities,
My father left for the Heavenly Home ;
He sacrificed his life
For protecting the rights of the Hindus,
To wear their sacred thread and frontal marks ;
In this Kali age of ignorance,
Guru Tegh Bahadur performed a supremely heroic act ;
He gave up his head without uttering a word of sorrow,
For the sake of righteousness (dharma) ;
He did this great heroic deed
He readily gave up his head
But did not give up his conviction
(In the freedom of worship for all)
He refused to perform a miracles,
A cheap way of fooling people ;
True prophets of God are ashamed
Of displaying their occult powers.

Guru Gobind Singh

Bachiter Natak: Apni Katha.

EMPEROR Aurangzeb sat in the Public Audience hall at about 9 A.M. in the balcony of the Throne, known as the Seat of the Shadow of God. He was attired in a white silken robe, tied under the right arm, with a silken sash, from which his dagger hung. On his head was a white turban bound with a gold web, on which an emerald of vast bigness appeared amid four little ones. His shoes were after the Moorish fashion and his legs naked without hose. All eyes were turned towards him, to the sound of trumpets, and drums. Below the balcony of the Throne was an enclosure, surrounded by rails reserved for the Gentlemen of the Household, feudatory princes, and ambassadors of foreign powers. Ranged round the Emperor, a troupe of eunuchs stirred the air with fans of yaks' tails and of peacock's feathers. When he was seated they gave him his scimitar and buckler which he laid down on his left side within the throne." Then he made a sign with his hand for those who had business to draw near.[2]

Into the audience hall was announced Guru Tegh Bahadur and his four companions, Diwan Mati Das, Bhai Dayal Das, Bhai Sati Das and Bhai Gurditta.

Aurangzeb was not quite ignorant of the Sikh faith and its tenets. He had already met Ram Rai, who became his favourite by performing miracles. Raja Jai Singh, Raja Ram Singh and a host of other courtiers had spoken very highly of the Guru's predecessor, Guru Hari Krishen, who had come to Delhi. He had come to know from his news reporters that Shaista Khan and Raja Ram Singh had become profound admirers of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and that the Governor of Bengal had given large plots of land to the Sikh Shrines in Dacca. He had also come to know that this unique man, Guru Tegh Bahadur, was popular even amongst the Kamarup Kings and the Ahom people, and he had travelled into those far flung regions, and conquered the hearts of the people where the whole of his armed might, and repeated military attacks had failed either to conquer or win over by strategy the strange people of that strange land, Kamarup. The Emperor also knew that the Sikh Gurus were as much opposed to idolatry as any Muslim. He knew that they did not believe in Brahminism and all that is associated with it. So he was very hopeful that a faith that had traditional associations with Hinduism, but stood close to Islam ideologically could be persuaded by some means or the other to fall completely under the political sway of Islam and thus open the gateway to the conversion of all the Brahmins of North India who were deemed the repository of the Hindu Sacred lore. "Well Tegh Bahadur", said the Emperor, "what heroism of the sword have you shown so far, as your name signifies ?" Guru Tegh Bahadur replied calmly : "I have travelled all the way to Delhi to show one to Your Majesty, the like of which you have never seen. Now that I have voluntarily come here you must release all Brahmins and Hindus.[3] The outspoken Mati Das added : "At the age of fourteen he fought in a battle against the Imperial forces which were given a stunning defeat."

"You do not believe in idolatory, you do not believe in these Hindu priests, the Brahmins, why then have you espoused their cause ? Why are you defending their faith ?" asked the shrewd Emperor.

With this question of the Emperor began a great dialogue which is said to have been recorded by Sati Das but was destroyed by the authorities. It was a dialogue between an unyielding, absolute ruler and the unyielding liberated conscience of an enlightened prophet. While the Emperor was deeply conscious of his power, wealth and authority, Guru Tegh Bahadur was conscious of the vanity and futility of such transient wealth and authority, and unhesitatingly followed the call of his conscience, and was determined to suffer and die for freedom, righteousness and truth.

Guru Tegh Bahadur explained that Guru Nanak's faith criticised the bigotry and caste pride of the Brahmins but was not against the moral and spiritual aspirations of the Brahmins, and Hindus. Similarly Guru Nanak disapproved the fanaticism of Mullas, but he was never against the religious aspirations of any section of the Muslims. He did not believe that the Hindus were *Kafirs,* and did he believe that the Muslims were *Malechhas,* as the Hindus asserted. Hatred of one for the other was unworthy of any religion aspiring after the love, and grace of God, or after the enlightenment and welfare of humanity. Sikhism was new in the sense, that it avoided the historical and cultural errors of other faiths, otherwise it was as old as the love of man for God and the reverence of man for the pervading Spirit of the Eternal in humanity.

The Emperor pointed out to the Guru his plan of turning India, the land of many heretical faiths, into a land of the orthodox Islam : *Dar-al-Islam.* He sought the Guru's co-operation, and active support in this. If he accepted Islam then the religious Heads of the Hindus in Benaras, Kurukshetra, Hardwar and Kashmir, would according to their signed pledge automatically accept Islam. By converting all heretics to his faith he was sure of getting unstinted political loyalty from the whole country and so build the totalitarian state of his dream. He offered Guru Tegh Bahadur and his disciples the highest positions in his realm and was prepared to pay any material reward for the Guru's acceptance of Islam.[4] Aurangzeb then showed to the Guru a number of Hindus who had accepted Islam and were occupying high positions.

Guru Tegh Bahadur pointed out that any creed, ideology,

or religion accepted out of fear, or greed may be a convenient way of acquiring earthly pleasures, and worldly goods, but it can never be the source of moral strength and spiritual inspiration. Muslim Saints like Shaikh Farid and Mian Mir attracted thousands of people to Islam by inspiring them with the light and wisdom of true Islam. The keynote of Islam as preached by Shaikh Farid was, "Hurt not any one, all hearts are precious gems. If you desire the grace and love of God, cause not injury to any one." This is the Wisdom of true Islam which not only millions of his followers accepted, but the Sikh Faith has recorded it in its Scriptures. The Sikhs were proud of reverencing the best that is in Islam as much as the Sikhs reverence the Wisdom of their own Gurus. Any religion imposed through force, coercion, threats, or material reward would not in the long run bear any fruit. Never has it been possible for any dictator or despot to enforce one religion, or one ideology upon the whole world. Nor will it ever be possible to imprison, and indoctrinate all minds, as the spirit of man always escapes from servitude, and it refuses to think according to prescribed forms, and to become shallow and supine at the word of command. It was unwise and utterly futile to attempt to reduce to a common denominator the divine multiplicity of existence or to divide humanity arbitrarily into heretics and believers. Always and everywhere there will crop up conscientious objectors and sturdy fighters for human liberty.

Guru Tegh Bahadur fervently appealed to Aurangzeb to give up the policy of repression, and forced conversion, and to win the love and admiration of all peoples and creeds for his rule, and for his faith. No earthly power was entitled to exercise authority over man's conscience. All earthly power was transient, and would not even help the Emperor when he came face to face with his conscience, under the shadow of death. Vast empires of the kings and dictators had not helped them in their stark loneliness before the Ultimate Judge of Truth. It would not help Aurangzeb even as much as a straw might help a drowning man. How could his wealth and power help the converts who had submitted themselves not to the love and service of God but to the fear and lust of their own hearts ?

The Emperor listened but was unchanged. The dogma "what we teach is true, and what we do not teach is false" was too deeply ingrained in his mind and like a monomaniac of power believing in "One and only One truth, he was too confident of his power to oppress and coerce. He ordered his officers to take away Guru Tegh Bahadur and use all possible means of persuasion and to bring him to his presence if they failed.

When Guru Tegh Bahadur came out of the Audience Hall, a Sikh came to him and offered him a small piece of *paras* (philosophers stone) the touch of which is capable of turning eight metals into gold. He told the Guru that with this precious stone he could save his life, if and when it was in danger, because the Emperor would agree to do anything to possess such a rare thing. Guru Tegh Bahadur took the philosopher's stone and threw it into the river saying that God had given him a real *paras*, a true philosopher's stone, which was the Word of God. He had not come to Delhi to save his own life, but to save the life of millions of helpless people groaning under the Emperor's extremist policy even at the cost of his own.[5]

During this period, Guru Tegh Bahadur was allowed to meet visitors. His leading disciple of Delhi, Lakhi Rai, came to meet him often with his sons. Lakhi Rai, a trader, had great influence on the court officials. Bhai Uda brought day to day information from the outside world. Pundit Kirpa Ram, the leader of the Brahmins, also came to know about the disappointing outcome of the Guru's meeting with the Emperor.

After the second meeting, the Emperor took a stiffer attitude. To his threats, Guru Tegh Bahadur's companions, Mati Das, and his brother Sati Das, both Persian scholars, gave fearless and stern answers. "What do we care for our bodies and what do we care for death ?" they said ; "Death is ever welcome if it comes for the sake of truth and righteousness. The Emperor should worry about his own death. When it comes he will be powerless and helpless with a load of sins and crimes against humanity on his head." The fiery and outspoken utterances of Diwan Mati Das annoyed the Emperor. He immediately ordered that they should be

thrown into prison and tortured till they submitted to his will.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was then kept in the lock up, at Chandni Chowk Kotwali.[5] The Kotwal and the Daroga, Abdulla, developed great respect and personal admiration for the Guru. They allowed special visitors to come and meet the Guru secretly. They also tried to mitigate the severity of the tortures ordered to be inflicted on them. Guru Tegh Bahadur and his disciples were now virtually preparing themselves for the supreme sacrifice. Some of the prominent Sikhs of Delhi were deeply grieved at the turn of events. They were almost certain that Aurangzeb would not hesitate to kill Guru Tegh Bahadur. They went to the Master, and explained to him that after his death people would be without a leader and guide, during those difficult times, as his son, Gobind, was too young to fight the armed might of Aurangzeb. They offered to buy his freedom, a practice not uncommon during those days.

Guru Tegh Bahadur spurned the idea of buying his freedom. His grand act of espousing the cause of the downtrodden and fighting for the freedom of worship for all was self-chosen. It was not imposed on him. Nor was he accused of any crime against the State. He had come with the firm intention of either changing the mind of Aurangzeb with moral and spiritual effort, or of sacrificing his life for the cause. He was not prepared for any compromise at the cost of sacrificing his faith and principles, or letting down the oppressed and downtrodden to save his own life. But he was uncertain about what might happen to the country after his death. Would young Gobind be able to face the situation, and inspire his countrymen to resist all tyranny and oppression ? He did not doubt it, but he had to convince his followers who were seriously worried.

To put his young son's mind to test, and to know his reaction to the grim situation ahead of him, Guru Tegh Bahadur sent the following *Sloka* to nine-year-old Gobind, portraying the agony of his country, helplessly groaning in chains :

> All human power has failed,
> Humanity groans in chains ;
> Moral efforts are of no avail ;
> Lord, save them O save

With Thy Merciful aid,
As Thou didst save
The drowning elephant that prayed ![7]

Guru Tegh Bahadur: *Adi Granth.*

Bhai Mani Singh who was with Guru Gobind when this letter containing this *Sloka* arrived, writes : "Guru Tegh Bahadur described in this *Sloka* the tragedy of the human drama", and he sought an assurance from the young prophet that he would do all to protect them. Bhai Uda and Pundit Kirpa Ram, who were particularly worried about the turn of events, that might take place after Guru Tegh Bahadur sacrificed his life, are believed to have carried the letter to Anandpur. Within four days they brought the reply of Guru Gobind which was in the form of *dohra* :

All power is mine with Thy grace, Lord.
The fetters of bondage are broken,
For liberty and truth everything is possible,
Lord, everything is in Thy Hands,
Nanak craves for Thy protection and aid.[8]

Guru Gobind Singh: *Adi Granth.*

Guru Tegh Bahadur was extremely happy to see young Gobind's reply reflecting self-confidence, courage and a consciousness of his high destiny and intentions. He assured Pundit Kirpa Ram and other disciples that while his sacrifice would strike at the root of tyranny, his son would bring it down to its knees. He advised Kirpa Ram to go and live with Guru Gobind.[9] The last act of ceremonially conveying the articles of Spiritual Regalia to young Gobind had to be done, and only the High Priest Bhai Gurditta could do it. Bhai Gurditta was sent with five pice and a cocoanut to Anandpur where he was to place them before Gobind Das with reverence and declare him the tenth Guru of the Sikhs and the true successor to Guru Tegh Bahadur.[10] Guru Tegh Bahadur also sent the following written blessing in the form of a verse :

The Word of God shall ever abide,
The Saints shall ever survive;
Guru Gobind's glory shall ever remain;
Few and rare are those O Nanak,
Who contemplate His Name.[11]

Guru Tegh Bahadur: *Adi Granth.*

Extremely reluctant to part with the Guru, Bhai Gurditta hurried to Anandpur in the hope that he would be able to participate in the supreme sacrifice of the Guru. Some one reported to the Emperor that one of the companions of Guru Tegh Bahadur had escaped and there was a fear that Guru Tegh Bahadur might himself escape. The prisoners were summoned to the Emperor's Court for the last time. Aurangzeb found Guru Tegh Bahadur firm in his stand on the freedom of worship for all. The Guru preached to him sermons of the transience of worldly power, the vanity and the ultimate end of all authority and Imperial strength in the face of death. He appealed to him to treat all human lives of good and noble people as precious and valuable. It was futile to try to eliminate all other faiths and creeds except his own. He tried to move the conscience of the Emperor. But all moral appeals to his good sense and conscience fell on deaf ears. The hard shell of fanaticism and over-confidence in the might of his political power blinded him to the light of all reasonable appeals on the grounds of humanism, a phenomena common to dictators and tyrants of all times, including our own.

Aurangzeb firmly declared that either Guru Tegh Bahadur must accept Islam or show *Karamat* (a miracle).[12] If he did not do either of the two within three days, first his disciples were to be put to death by torture, and then Guru Tegh Bahadur was to be beheaded as a punishment for espousing the cause of the heretics. After announcing his judgment he waited for a miracle which he thought a prophet of Guru Tegh Bahadur's eminence would perform. He had come to know that Guru Tegh Bahadur's spiritual powers even helped his General Raja Ram Singh against the witchcraft, and magic of the Kamarup miracle workers. Again and again the Emperor commanded from the balcony : "*Karamat*! *Karamat*" (a miracle, a miracle). But there was no miracle to order. Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly replied : "You will see one miracle the day my head is cut off, the miracle of a man laying down his life for the freedom of worship for all, for equality and liberty in matters of faith and ideological belief. Beyond that I do not believe in displaying any occult powers to save my life. We have forbidden even our disciples not to waste their spiritual powers in useless display of magical



Sis Ganj Shrine, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, where Guru Tegh Bahadur was beheaded



Chandni Chowk, Delhi, during Aurangzeb period

miracles. My brother, Baba Atal brought a dead boy to life. My father disapproved of it and to make amends for it my brother sacrificed his own life. There is no respect in our faith for cheap-jacks of magical powers. I hope and pray that some day you will realise the dangers of your policy, some day your conscience wil revolt against the horror of your own deeds because you will, like all men, have to answer for your deeds before the Almighty God."

Guru Tegh Bahadur and his three disciples were brought to the Chandni Chowk Kotwali and kept under heavy guard.[13] Through the good offices and kindness of Daroga Khwaja Abdulla some Sikhs were able to meet the Guru secretly in prison. During those days it was well-nigh impossible to distinguish Sikhs from the Muslims, because both of them wore similar beards, turbans and clothes.[14] A Sikh who was deeply conscious of his spiritual powers came to the Guru and said : "Master, permit me to perform but one miracle, I will bring the whole of Delhi to dust and make it a graveyard of the Mughal Emperor and all his supporters. Just permit me to perform one miracle and show this tyrant what a humble Sikh can do."

Guru Tegh Bahadur calmly replied : "You have acquired a few drops of spiritual power from the Infinite Ocean, and now you want to waste it on vengeance by bringing destruction and death to all the good and bad people of Delhi. How long can you assume the powers of the Creator and Destroyer of life with the little vitality you have acquired? After showing one such miracle you will become an empty shell. You will be misusing God-given gifts and powers just as Aurangzeb is doing. Never think of treading such a path." The disciple was silent and promised to abide by his command.[15]

The next day Diwan Mati Das, his brother Sati Das, and Bhai Dayal Das were again asked whether they would accept Islam or death. As they refused to accept Islam they were sentenced to death by torture by Qazi Abul Wahhab Borah. The three of them sought the Guru's blessings. Guru Tegh Bahadur embraced them and blessed them saying: "Your devotion to me all my life, and your spirit of dedication for the cause of humanity will remain unparalleled in history. Your heroic deeds will ever be remembered by generations

to come. All my blessings are with you, my noble disciples. All my love and thoughts are with you, my dear ones. What greater pride and joy can I have than the thought that my dearest disciples, the Ministers of my durbar are with me on the eve of my martyrdom, just as they have always been with me, in my work, and travels. God bless you, my dearest ones !"

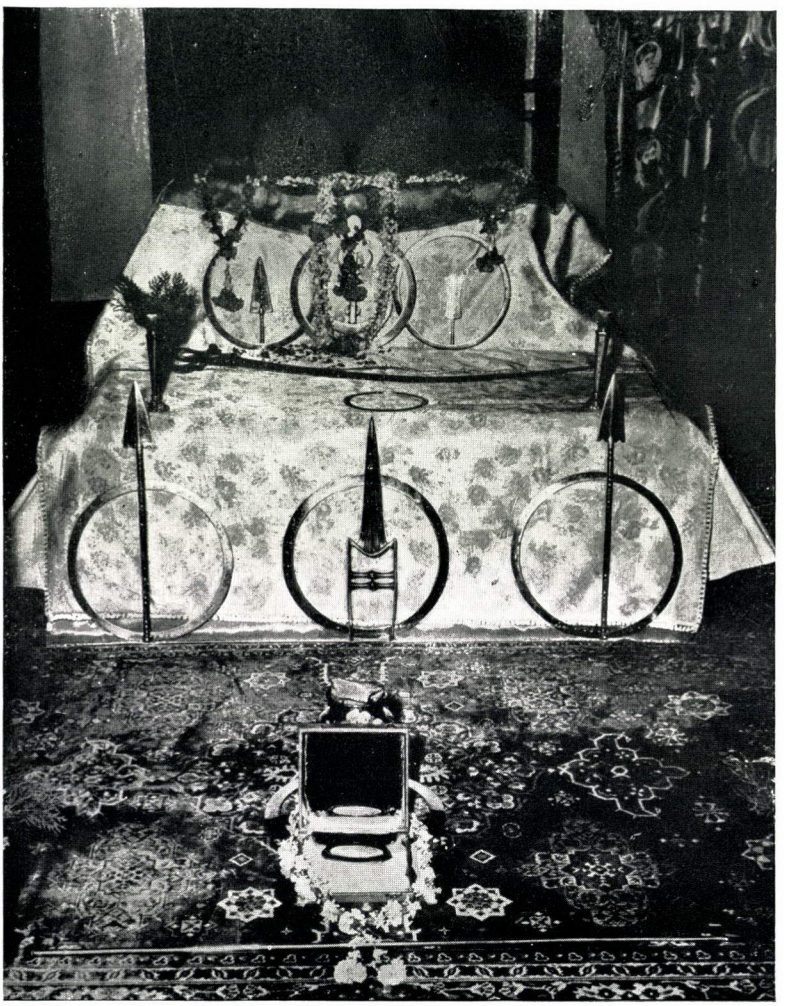
Guru Tegh Bahadur was made to watch the execution of his own disciples, in the hope, that their suffering and affliction might impel him to change his mind. Diwan Mati Das was bound between two wooden posts and sawn asunder alive.[16] As long as there was life in him, people could hear him recite the Word of God. Bhai Dayal Das's hands and feet were tied firmly and he was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil.[17] Not a cry of pain was uttered by this most beloved companion of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Bhai Sati Das had been recording the happenings, the discourses and the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur. They were seized by the authorities and Sati Das' body was mercilessly torn to pieces.[18] All the three apostles died heroically. A crowd of people who watched the execution cried bitterly. The bodies of all the three martyrs were hung in public and displayed to show the extent of ruthlessness the Emperor was prepared to exercise against the champions of the freedom of heretics.

Early the next morning, a sweeper came and cleaned the place for the fresh execution. A waterman came and sprinkled some water on the dusty ground. Guru Tegh Bahadur recognised the sweeper to be his own disciple Bhai Jaita, a Rangretta. He bowed to the Master from a distance and saluted the officers. No one was unfamiliar with the sweeper Jaita. Guru Tegh Bahadur took his bath in a well close to the Kotwali and recited his prayers. This well still exists and is situated near the back entrance to *Sisganj* Gurdwara.

As Guru Tegh Bahadur came to the place of execution Qazi Abul Wahhab Borah read the *fatwa*. The executioner Jalaludin of Samana stood there with a drawn sword ready to strike the blow on receiving the command from his Chief. Dark clouds were gathering the sky, as if the sun could not bear to see the terrible sight. People began to weep loudly at the very thought of the approaching tragedy. Guru Tegh Bahadur raised his hands to bless all and to console all.



Gurdwara Rakabganj, Delhi, the place where the body of Guru Tegh Bahadur was cremated by his disciple Lakhi Rai *(outside view,* under construction)



Gurdwara Rakabganj, Delhi (*inside view*)

There was a hushed silence weighed down by suppressed grief.

A few minutes later as Guru Tegh Bahadur sat in the silence of his last meditation, Jalal-ud-din waved his sword and cut off the Guru's head.[19] People burst into loud heart-rendering cries, never heard before. Some cried in utter helplessness. Some shrieked and beat their breast in unbearable agony crying alas, alas!

Guru Tegh Bahadur broke his earthly vase
On the head of Aurangzeb.
And went to the abode of God.
No one has ever done such a unique deed
Like the self-sacrifice of Guru Tegh Bahadur,
(For other people's faith and creed.)
When Guru Tegh Bahadur was killed,
There was great mourning throughout the world;
Alas, Alas, rose the wailing cries from the earth;
While the shouts of 'Glory, Glory,' resounded the whole heaven.

Guru Gobind Singh:
Bachiter Natak: Apni Katha.
5/2/5

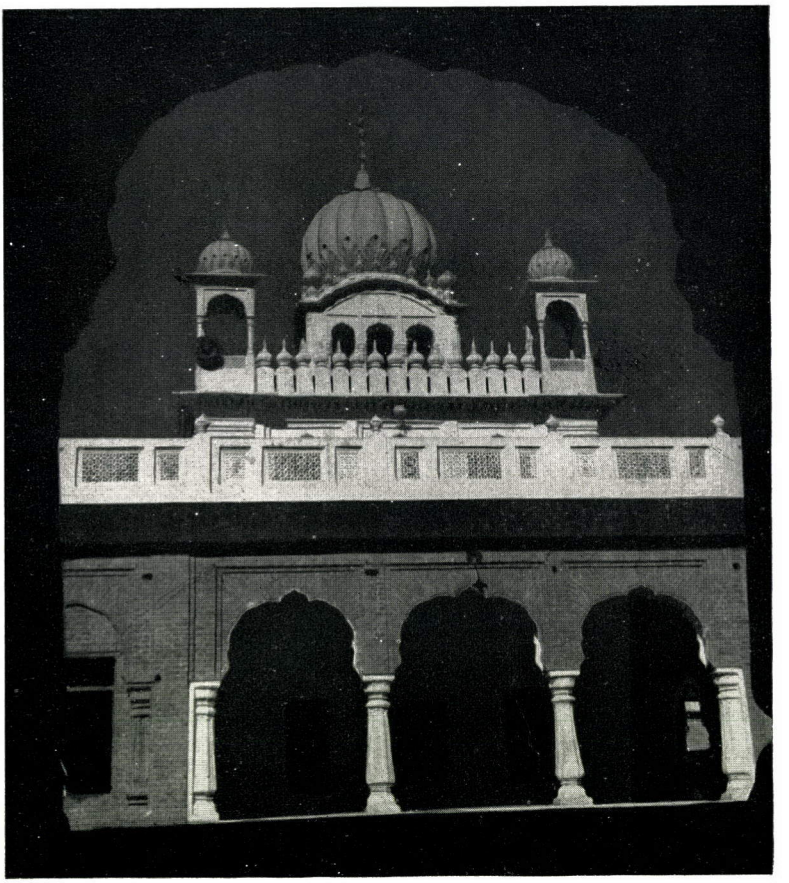
A Muslim Saint happened to be there at the time of the execution. After witnessing the ruthless execution of the Guru he remarked : "The Sultan has not done well. Such things will lead to great rebellion and Delhi will become entirely desolate."[21]

Baba Gurditta had reached Anandpur with the articles of Spiritual Regalia. It was a duty which a member of his family alone could perform. He placed all the articles before young Gobind, and bowed to him. He begged Guru Gobind to permit him to go back immediately so that he could participate in the glorious martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahalur. He left the responsibility of performing the succession ceremony to his three year old son Ram Koer. Baba Gurditta had just reached the outskirts of the city when he heard the heart-rendering cries of the people weeping and wailing in deep agony and sorrow. He could easily divine that the Master had left for his Heavenly Home. How was it possible for him to live without him even for a moment? He sat in *Nirvana Samadhi* and discarded his body in a divine passion,[22] near a pond where his great ancestor, Bhai Buddha spent, many

months waiting for Guru Hargobind to be released from Gwalior prison.

The crowd of weeping and wailing watchers came closer and closer to the body of Guru Tegh Bahadur to have a last glimpse at the Master's peace-shedding and lovely face. The storm was gathering its darkness now ; the air of black sirocco was getting murkier by the minute while the wrack of clouds with dusty wind was scudding across the sky. Nature itself seemed to wish to hide the horror of that sight ; the sky which all the morning had been clear, suddenly grew dark. A thick dusty cloud, dark, as though it came from the marshes of hell, rose over the capital, and spread to every corner of the horizon.[23] The sun was lost behind the thickening nimbus overhead, and tumult and panic were ready to break out into mob madness. The antithesis of good and evil, innocence and infamy, light and darkness, tyranny and fiery pacifist resistance, were never presented in such dramatic and utter contrast, as on that memorable day. As the mourning crowd surged forward to have a closer glimpse of the Master, even though the guards tried to stop them, a man dashed out of the crowd, and with a lightning flash disappeared back into the crowd carrying with him the head of the Guru. As the clouds darkened and the storm was about to rage a large convoy of bullocks, carts, camels and horses belonging to the royal contractor, Lakhi Shah, was approaching. At the head of the convoy was Lakhi Shah's son, Nagahiya, shouting loudly to the crowd: "Make way for the convoy of the royal contractor. The convoy conducted by Lakhi Shah and his eight sons, Nagahiya, Hema, Hadi, Situ, Pundara, Bakhshi, Bala and Jawahar, tore through the crowd, and went at full speed raising dust, thickened by the approaching storm. When the convoy was gone, and the storm subsided, the body was not there, and the Guru's head was also not there.[24] Was it a miracle ? Everyone thought so. Even the suspicious and superstitious Aurangzeb thought so. Was this the miracle Guru Tegh Bahadur wanted to show ? People were stunned but happy. Happiest of all was Daroga Khwaja Abdulla who resigned his post and went to Anandpur to spend the rest of his life with Guru Gobind Singh as one of his dearest friends and admirers.

The body of the Guru was carried by Lakhi Shah and his



Sis Ganj, Anandpur, where Guru Tegh Bahadur's head was cremated



Rostrum at Anandpur, from where young Guru Gobind delivered the funeral speech at the cremation ceremony of his father's head

eight sons to their residence in the Raisana village, at present, just opposite the Parliament building and known now as Rakabganj. They placed the Guru's body reverently on a well-prepared bed around which were placed piles of sandal-wood and after lighting the funeral pyre they set fire to the whole house. After the fire was extinguished they picked up the remains of the Guru, and placing them in an urn buried them on the very spot where Guruji was cremated.[25]

Bhai Jaita, the sweeper, known as Rangretta[26] (a man of low caste) carried the head of Guru Tegh Bahadur to Kiratpur, where Guru Gobind, Mata Gujari, and Holy Mother Nanaki came to receive it and carry it in a *palki* to Anandpur. Guru Gobind embraced Bhai Jaita saying "God bless you Rangretta, *Guru ka beta* ! (Thou art the Son of the Guru) and with the Guru you shall ever remain." Unable to control her tears Holy Mother Nanaki bent over the sacred head of her son. "My son, my son, she cried in a heart-rendering tone, I wish I had not lived to see this day. I have never understood your strange and wonderful deeds all my life. This one is most difficult to be understood." Mata Gujari calmly bowed before her beloved husband's head. In utter silence, she vowed to carry out her Lord's last wishes. Secretly, she wished that she too might lay down her life for the noble cause for which her husband died. The head of Guru Tegh Bahadur was cremated close to his residence at Anandpur.

Thus Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life for the freedom of worship, for protecting the faith of the helpless destitute Hindus on November 11, 1675 A.D. (Maghar Sudi 5, 1732 B.S.) The martyrdom took place on Thursday, which in Aurangzeb's reign was a half holiday, because it was a day before the Islamic Sabbath.[27]

Some historians have made much about the timidity of the people of Delhi who did not protest. The heroism with which the head and the body of the Guru were removed shows the courage and spirit of self-sacrifice the Guru's martyrdom inspired. Two other individual resentments have been recorded by *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* : *"June or July* 1676 A.D. : While the Emperor was mounting his horse in the square (*chauk*) before the Hall of Audience, a complainer flung a

stick at him. It fell on the other side of His Majesty's umbrella ; the man was made over to the Kotwal."[28]

"*On Friday, 27th October, 1676 A.D.* While the Emperor was returning from the Jama mosque and had alighted from the boat in order to mount the movable chair (*takht-i-rawan*), an ill fated disciple of Guru Tegh Bahadur threw two bricks, one of which reached the chair. He was seized by the retinue and ordered to be made over to the *Kotwal.*"[29]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] jab ham dharm karm mo āe
dev lok tab pitā sidhāe,
tilak jañjū rākhā prabh tākā
kīno bado kalū meh sākā
sādhan het itī jin karī
Sīs dīya parsī na ucarī
dharm het sākā jin kīyā
sīs dīyā par sirar nā dīya.
nātak cetak kīe kukājā
prabh logan keh āvat lājā

Guru Gobind Singh: *Bachiter Nātak*: *Apnī Kathā.*

[2] The details of the Durbar and of Aurangzeb's personality are taken from eye witnesses like Bernier, Thavenot and Gamelli Careri.

[3] Sāhib jāe Dihlī prāpat hoe, tāṅ Bādshāh nū khabar hoī, tāṅ Sāhib bacan kītā: asīṅ tā tuhāde pās āe hāṅ, tusīn sabh Brahmanāṅ nū chod deh, Tāṅ Brahmin sabh nū khalās karvāyā. tāṅ Bādshāh puchyā jo tusaṅ Tegh Bahadur nau rakhya hai kis jagā Tegh Bahādurī kītī hai ; bacan hoyā Tegh Bahādur pragat hoyā hāi, aisī Tegh Bahādurī dikhlāuṅ gā jo gaū Brahmīn dā kast dūr kare gā. tere nyā kī jagā raulā vartauṅ gā, tere sophīāṅ dī jagā amal karegā.

Bhai Mani Singh : *Sikhan di Bhagat Mal*

The above record indicates two more points. Guru Tegh Bahadur after surrendering himself demanded the release of all the Brahmins and Hindus before he entered the discussion. This was done. Secondly he says that he will show such a heroism which will bring a moral revolution in the country.

[4] tab Nauraṅge kahīo Guru ko ais hī,
dīn hamāra āp kabūlain vais hī ;
karo martābā vadā bahut jangīr deh

Gyan Singh, *Paṅth Prakāsh*, p. 117

[5] Sāhīb de pās ik sikh āyā darśan nū, te kahyā terī samrathā karke ik pāras hath lagā hai ; main bhet tusādi āṅdā hai ; eh pāras deke tusīṅ apnā sarīr bacāvo. tāṅ bacan hoyā,

Bhai Sikhā jo jhūṭh hai so sac nahī ho sakdā; pāras lai ke Sāhib ne Jamunā vic sut ditā.

Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhan dī Bhagat Mal,* MSS.

[6] Kavi Santokh Singh in his Suraj Prakash and Gyani Gyan Singh in *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* say that he was first kept in a *havelī* and then thrown into prison and tortured; This historical fact is supported by the statements of Muslim historians also: "The Guru being unable to satisfy His Majesty one way or the other was by the King's order thrown into prison and on his persistently refusing to become a convert, was subjected to bodily tortures.

S. M. Latif: *History of Punjab.*

[7] bal chutkio baṅdan pare kachū nā hot upāe,
kahu Nānak ab ot harī gaj jīon hoh sahāe.

Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[8] bal hoā baṅdhan chute sabh kich hot upāe,
Nānak sabh kichu tumre hāth mai tum hī hot sahāe.

Guru Gobind Singh: *Adi Granth*

The following historical records state that this was the reply of Guru Gobind to the above Sloka sent by Guru Tegh Bahadur. *Suraj Prakāsh, Mehmā Prakāsh,* Kesar Singh Chibber's *Bansāvlināmā,* Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhāṅ dī Bhagatmāl* and all, others that have written about the martyrdom.

I have examined nearly three hundred old copies of the Adi Granth written in the 17th and 18th centuries, including a number of those signed by Guru Gobind Singh. The dohra is clearly assigned to Guru Gobind Singh stating patshahi 10. The author of this book has two such copies dated 1706 and 1707 A.D. One of them is signed by Guru Gobind Singh. In both it is clearly indicated that Guru Gobind Singh is the author of this *sloka.* I do not know why *patshahi* 10 was removed in the Adi Guru Granth and the Sabdaraths published by S.G.P.C. It is a very serious error which should be removed.

The arrangement of the Slokas is such that many scholars are tempted to associate many other *slokas* with these two. But our historical records mention only two.

Bhai Mani Singh brother of Bhai Dayal Das clearly state that these *slokas* portrayed the human situation: *"Sahib navin patsahi ne bacan jo kita so manukha natak kar kita. hai."* The *Sloka* of the Guru is a portrayal of the human drama. "There is absolutely no doubt about these two *slokas* being historical. This sloka of Guru Gobind Singh is the only one in the Adi Guru Granth.

[9] Kirpa Ram the leader of Kashmiri Pundits according to Chaupa Singh the author of *Rehatnāmā* became the Sanskrit teacher of Guru Gobind Singh for some years. Probably he helped the young Guru in the study of Sanskrit literature.

According to *Bhat Vahīs* and Bhai Kesar Singh Chibber, he entered the Order of Khalsa and became Kirpa Singh and he was one of the brave forty companions of Guru Gobind Singh who died fighting in the battle of Chamkaur, and proved true to his promise to Guru Tegh Bahadur.

[10] Gurujī ne pañj paise ik nalīer gurīyāī da martbī dasveñ
Guru vāste Bhai Gurdite de hath Anandpur nu tor dfftā.
Gyan Singh : *Tawarikh, Guru Khālsā*
eh sun ke sāhib bhae kusāl
dithā jo pañd de cukan vālā hai sadā bal
pañj paise nālier ditā bhijvāe
kehia tūñ hain Gurū asī Sikh hoe cele sidhāi.
Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bansavlināmā.*
Also see *Suraj Prakāsh,* and Gulab Singh's *Shahidi prasañg patsāhi nauvīñ.*

[11] nām rehio sādhu rehio rehio Gur Gobiñd,
kahu Nānak eh jagat mai kin japio gurmañt.
Guru Tegh Bahadur : Adi Granth

[12] Bādshah ne ākhya musalmān nahī hona ta karamāt dikhāo nahī ta katal kite jāo ge.
Gyan Singh, *Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā,* p. 280
tumehī Hind ke Gurū kahāvo
kachu hamko karamāt dikhlāvo
Mehma Prakash.
The Emperor had many religious disputations with Tegh Bahadur and asked him to show miracles if he was a true Guru or to embrace Islam.
S. M. Latif : *History of Punjab.*

[13] *Sūraj Prakāsh, Tawārīkh Gurū Khalsā, History and Philosophy of the Sikhs* by Khazan Singh.

[14] "In times of yore, the religious persons of that fraternity (the Sikhs) could not be distinguished either in their garb or usage from the Musalman fakirs, nor is the difference easily perceptible even to this day.
Sayed Ghulam Hussain Khan: *Seir Mutakherin.*

[15] pher ik hor Sikh Sāhib de pās āyā. Os akhyā jī garīb nivāj jo mainū āgyā karo tāñ mai Lahore te Delhi nū bhiḍāe devāñ. bacan hoyā bhai, tainū samuñdar vicoñ būñd prāpat hoi hai, tūñ eh takḍī karke rakh, dukh kise nū nahī karnā, jo kich vartdā hai so Vahgurū kī āgyā vic vartdā hai.
Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhāñ dī Bhagatmāl,* MSS

[16] Mati Das was bound between two pillars and his body cut in twain with a saw.
Macauliffe : *The Sikh Religion,* Vol. IV, p 382
Suraj Prakāsh, Kesar Singh Chibber : *Bansāvlināmā, Pañth Prakāsh.*

[17] Matī Ram cīriyā phāḍiyā, Dayalā degh vic sāḍyia.

[18] Dayal Das, Matī Dās kā, potā Balū kā, padpota Mūle kā, gurū gail maghar sudhī pañcmī saṁbat 1732 Dhlī Chāñdnī

Chowk ke malhān, śahī hukam gail mara gayā; gailo Matī Dās, Sati Dās bete Hiranaṅd ke pote Lakhi Dās ke, paḍpote Parāg ke baṅs Gotam kā, Sarasvatī Bhagat gotre Brahmīṅ chibber māre gae.

Bhat Vahi Multani Siṅdhī.

[19] One historical record says that a Purbia was employed as executioner while the other says that a Rajput was employed as the execution. He was actually Jalaludin of Samana who was later on punished by Banda when he attacked Samana. Jalaludin Jalād Samane de sayid nū katal vāste bhej ditā.

Tawarikh Guru Khalsa, 281.

It is inconceivable that Aurangzeb would ever appoint a Purbia known for timidity or a Rajput known for chivalry and keen admiration for the Guru, as execution. Aurangzeb had dismissed even Hindu clerks and accountants.

[20] ṭhīkar phor Dilhīs sir prabhu pur kīyā payān
Tegh Bahādur sī kriyā karī na kinhū ān
Tegh Bahādur ke calit bhao jagat ko sok
Hai hai hai sabh jag bhae jai jai jai surlok.

Guru Gobind Singh: *Bachiter Nātak Apni Katha.*

[21] *Tawarīkh-i-Sikhāṅ*: by Bakhat Mal

[22] *Jiwan Baba Budhā:* Mangal Singh

[23] tis din andherī garb gubārī rahī
aurange do sai ādmī dī caukī lāī

Kesar Singh Chibber: Bansavlinama

Bhai Vir Singh quotes Muhit Azim stating that Guru Tegh Bahadur died for protecting the *dharma* of the Hindus and at the time of the execution there were dak clouds and a terrible storm.

Bhai Vir Singh: *Kalgidhar Chamatkār,* p 46

Calā calāī ho rahī, gaḍ gaḍ ukhre mekh,
Lakhff Nagahīyā lai cāle, tūṅ kharā tamāśā dekh;
Lakhī Nagāhīyā lakh gae Hem Hadāu āṭh
Sukhā Sarīkhā lakh gae bahur n-āe is bāt,
dhan Pārāṅ Devī grambnī, put janmyā Nagāhffyā,
paṅc sai heḍī mār bhagāī;
Guru kī loth uthāe lyanī jas jag mai pāyā
Pitā put rośan bhāe āe;
Jas joḍ Kesho Bhat bhanyā, sāl satreh sai aṭhātyā Rakāb gaṅj ke malhān.

Kesho Dutt Bhatt: *Bhat Vahi Yadovansi Baḍhtiyān ki.*

Lakhī Shāh jo Badshāh de kile vic cula kalī sutyā kardā sī besumār bail lai ke saṅjh de vakt āyā te cānnī cauk vicoṅ dhaḍ nū uthā ke Delhī ton bāhār cār kos par apne ghar le jākar ghar samet dhaḍ dāh kar ditā.

Gyan Singh: *Tawarikh Guru Khālsā,* 282

[24] do banjāre pitā aur putar ghatnā sthān par pahuṅce; bailoṅ par rūī lādī hūī thī; un ek kināre bailoṅ ko khaḍā kar dīā, putar āgai badhā, āṅdhī abhī bhī cal rahī thī, aur

bhī jor kar jhauṅkā āyā, pehredār āṅkhen mūṅd kaı baiṭh gae, banjārā badhā, aur deh ko uṭhā lāyā, aur rūī me lapet lio, bail par lād caltā banā; ghar pahuṅcā aur shāhī ādmī ke saṅdeh se bacne ke lie apne ghar me usne sarīr rakh kar smast ghar ko āg lagā dī, yah sthān par Rakābganj kā gurdwārā hai.

Two banjaras father and son (Lakhi Rai and Naghaiya) reached the place with a convoy of oxen carrying bales of cotton. The son went forward with the intention of lifting the Guru's body. As the storm was raging nothing was visible and at that moment the storm became severe and darkness fell all around. The guards sat there with their eyes closed (lest the dust of the storm may not enter their eyes. The young banjara lifted the body, wrapped it in cotton and brought it to his house. To avoid any suspicion by the authorities, he placed the body reverently on a bed in the house and set fire to the whole of his house. This place then came to be known as Rakabganj.

Thakur Das Raj: *Sikh Itihas,* 173.

25 They purposely brought their oxen loaded with sacks and carts through the Chandni Chowk drove them towards the Kotwali and passed by the spot where the Guru's body was. They took up and placed the body in the cart and succeeded in carrying it to their village notwithstanding the search which was instituted by the Imperial police to find it out. When the cremation was over the ashes were put in a *gagar*, metal basin and buried on the spot. Sometimes afterwards the Mohammedans erected a mosque there. In about 1775 A.D. when Sardar Bhagel Singh of Chalandi made with the permission of the Emperor a general inquiry about the Sikh shrines in the town of Delhi. The Sikhs claimed this spot as their own, but the Mohammedans contested their claim and strongly objected to the dismantling of the mosque. Parties stood with swords drawn and a bloody conflicts was to ensue when an end was put on the condition that if the gagar containing ashes of Guru Tegh Bahadur were found beneath the mosque the institution should be handed over to the Sikhs. Otherwise the Sikhs should rebuild the mosque. The assertion of the Sikhs was found to be correct and the Temple of Rakabganj was built there.

Two Sanads dated the 18th day of *Muharram ul Haram* in 29 years of the reign of the Emperor, Shah Alam were granted. One directs that Sardar Baghel Singh be put in possession of land without any hitch for construction of a Gurdwara and a garden. The other specifies the land: 101 bighas and 5 Biswas pukhta 63-28 acres with 3 wells land revenue free. These Sanads in original are still in the possession of the Mahant of the Temple and have been inspected by the author.

In 1911 George V visited India and held the Durbar at Delhi. The capital was shifted from Calcutta to Delhi and the Viceregal Lodge and the secretariat were built only a few yards away from Rakabganj Gurdwara. When the Govt. tried to demolish the wall of Rakabganj the resentment of the Sikhs gave rise to Gurdwara movement of which Bhai Sahib Randhir Singh was the first Sikh prisoner.

Khazan Singh : *History and Philosophy of the Sikhs,* p 158-160

[26] *Sūraj Prakāsh, Tawarīkh Gurū Khalsā,* Macauliffe's *"The Sikh Religion."*

[27] Old recensions of the *Ādi Graṅth* written during the life time of Guru Gobind Singh have recorded the date and time of the Guru's martyrdom as follows :

Saṁbat 1732 Maṅghar Sudī 5, Vīrvār pehar din cadeh Srī Satgur kartāpurkh niraṅkār Guru Tegh Bahādurjī samāne Dihlī vic.

Sambat 1732 Maghar Sudi 5 bāreh ghaḍīaṅ din cadhiā sī tervīhṅ de amal Srī Satgur Tegh Bahādur Samane Dihlī vic.

Both these copies of Adi Granth written immediately after the Battle of Chamkaur and signed by Guru Gobind Singh are in the possession of the author.

This indicates that the Guru was executed in the thirteenth *ghari* after sunrise.

Immediately after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur Khwaja Abdulla came to Anandpur. His son Ghulam Abbas was employed by Nawab Kapur Singh, and Gyani Gyan Singh met his great grandson at Khard in Ambala District.

[28] *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Bibliotheca Indica) p 94.

[29] ibid.

CHAPTER XXV

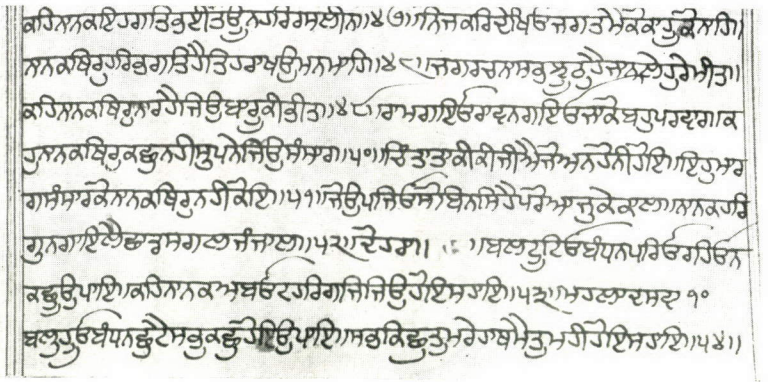
MARTYRDOM OF MATA GUJARI VICTORY OF TRUTH

MATA Gujari took over the administration of the dioceses and wrote letters to all the *masands*. While the moral and spiritual administration of the religious capital was controlled by Guru Gobind Singh himself, Mata Gujari, her brother Kirpal, Bhai Jetha, Bhai Mani Singh and Sango Shah were consulted by him in all matters.

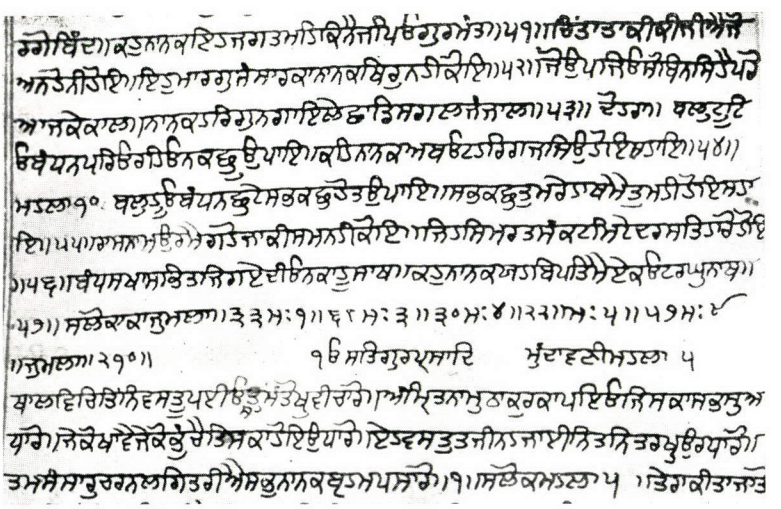
When Guru Tegh Bahadur sacrificed his life to prevent the Hindu religion from being completely wiped out in North India, little did he imagine that his son would become victim of aggressive attacks of the Hindu Rajas of the Himalayan range. Time and again they attacked the young Guru with their collective might and suffered terrible defeat. Even after giving a stunning defeat to all the Hill Chiefs, Guru Gobind Singh did not occupy an inch of their territory. He could have easily become the ruler of at least six Shivalik States in the Himalayan Range at the age of 21, and more powerful and secure in North India than Shivaji ever was in the South.

When these Hindu Chiefs were attacked by the Imperial forces Guru Gobind readily forgave them their past acts of aggression, and helped them, but their attitude still remained treacherous and aggressive. They joined the Imperial armies to destroy Guru Gobind Singh and his Faith. Muslim friends like Pir Buddhu Shah fought on his side. When the Hindu Rajas failed to conquer the city state of Anandpur they approached Aurangzeb for direct help. Aurangzeb sent his son Prince Muazzim, who on investigation found that Guru Gobind Singh was a *dervish* and the real trouble makers were the Hindu Rajas. Although opposition to his father's will had cost the Prince seven years imprisonment, out of which he had just come out, he still dared to write to his father, Aurangzeb, that it was not wise to attack Guru Gobind Singh. He was a harmless dervish. He even punished those who caused trouble to Guru Gobind Singh.[1] Aurangzeb did not believe in what his son wrote and sent four of his best gene-

Letter of Mata Gujari



Sloka of Guru Gobind Singh, as recorded in copy of *Adi Granth*, dated 1705 A.D. *(Original with the author)*



Sloka of Guru Gobind Singh, as recorded in a copy of *Adi Granth*, dated 1707 A.D. and autographed by Guru Gobind Singh. (*Original copy with the author*)

rals as messengers to find out the truth. These generals also reported that Guru Gobind Singh had done nothing against anyone and he led a saintly life in his city state. These generals also punished some more of the mischievious persons who had caused trouble to the Guru.[2]

Then all the leading Rajas led by Ajmer Chand personally met the Emperor, poisoned his mind, and secured an order to destroy Guru Gobind Singh root and branch. A seige was laid around Anandpur, in which all the Hindu Rajas except the Raja of Nahan joined hands with the Imperial forces led by leading Mughal generals. Guru Gobind Singh refused to surrender, and it became impossible to defeat him. Aurangzeb then sent an oath signed on the Holy Koran with one of his *Qazis* assuring Guru Gobind Singh that he would not be harmed. But as soon as the Guru and his army came out of the fort they were attacked, by the Mughal armies and Rajas of Shivalik from all sides.

A Brahmin servant named Gangu guided Mata Gujari and her two grandsons to his village where he betrayed them to Nawab Wazir Khan, Governor of Sirhind. Two of Guru Gobind Singh's sons died fighting in the battle of Chamkaur and the other two who were with Mata Gujari were thrown into the prison, tortured, threatened, and forcibly urged to accept Islam. But the young boys aged 7 and 9 refused to abandon their faith or to be cowed down by fear. They were brutally murdered, and there, in Wazir Khan's prison died Mata Gujari after facing untold affliction and tortures at the age of eighty. Like her husband she gave her life for freedom and faith.[3]

Escaping without being hurt from the trap laid by Aurangzeb Guru Gobind Singh wrote two letters to Aurangzeb, known as *Fateh Namah* and *Zafarnama*, both names meaning Letters of Victory. *Zafarnama* appears to be a reply to some letter of the Emperor showing genuine repentance by the Emperor, and urging Guru Gobind Singh to meet him : Guru Gobind Singh wrote : "The same God who has made you Emperor of the country has blessed me with the sovereignty of protecting the poor, and the downtrodden, and with fighting for the cause of righteousness. For your power you are unscrupulously indulging in loot, plunder, treachery, and deceit ; the source of my strength is truth and a firm faith

in God. The name Aurangzeb-wearer of the crown-befits thee not ; because the wearer of the crown is not expected to stoop to such mean, and deceitful ways. Your rosary is nothing more than a bare thread strung with beads, to deceive others. The thread of your rosary is a snare to trap innocent people, and the beads are used hypocritically by you for the same purpose, that a hunter uses the seed grains to attract innocent birds and kill them (3-6). With the grace of God I will destroy your power from the very roots with the spirit baptised by steel (9). I will inflame every inch of this land with the fire of resistance, to burn your feet at every step. You will not get even a drop of water in the Punjab to quench your thirst. What matters if the Jackal (meaning Aurangzeb) has killed the cubs of a lion ? (refering to his sons). The lion, you fear so much, still lives. He will certainly teach you a lesson (13-14)."[4]

"I have not the slightest faith left in your oath which you took on the Koran, and in which you called the one God to bear witness to the oath. I have not an iota of faith in any of your pledges, or sworn statements, nor in the oaths of your Commander-in-Chief or your Ministers (13-14). If I had not believed in false oaths taken on the Koran by you and your envoys, I would not have crippled my army which is dearer to me than my very life. What could forty Sikhs do against the treacherous attacks of ten lakhs soldiers of your army? These forty dear ones had not taken a morsel of food for days, and yet they fought until death, to the last man. Your commanders, who had taken the oath attacked us from the back, without a moment's notice with arrows, bullets and swords. When all other possible remedies fail it is but lawful to resort to the sword.(18-22) What could mere moral courage do when only forty half-starved Skihs were fighting against countless hordes ? He (Guru Gobind Singh) who trusted your oath on the Koran, taken with God as witness, was graciously protected by the same God. Not a hair of my body was touched. No injury what-so-ever came to my body. God protected me even when I left the hillock in the thick of the night, fighting my way out. You are neither sincere in your faith, nor do you ever practise the virtues of your religion. You neither recognise any God, nor do you have any inward respect for the Prophet Mohammed. Outwardly you

hypocritically pretend to be religious. Inwardly you are atheistic, and utterly devoid of Islamic practices.(43, 44, 46)"[5]

It appears that Aurangzeb had sincerely repented, and given some fresh assurances to Guru Gobind Singh, to make amends for the damage done. He sent a number of verbal and written messages urging the Guru to meet him. Therefore Guru Gobind Singh addressed him as World-Teacher saying : "It is your bounden duty now to fulfil what you have written to me. You should carry out all your commitments now. I have received your verbal and written messages ; the proper thing for you to do is to carry out all that you have promised to do. The *qazi* who brought the letters assured me on your behalf that you actually hold me in great reverence, and are prepared to act upon my advice. If there is any truth in this, come here and show it by your actions (53, 54, 56). Do not take my words lightly. God takes no sides in judging truth. He cannot be worn over by flattery.(70) If you do not punish those men who have committed these gruesome crimes God will punish you because that would mean that you had a hand in it. If you are determined to punish the wrong doers and the oppressors, God will forgive you and bless you.(82-83).[6] Even in these stern but compassionate letters Guru Gobind Singh could not help pointing out: "I have been fighting for the last many years against the Hindu Rajas who are idol worshippers. (I am a believer in one God and a disbeliever in idol worship.) What reason did you have to attack me? Ideologically you have betrayed your own cause. How ironical is your selfishness."[3]

Although we do not have the letters of Aurangzeb written to Guru Gobind Singh, we have other letters of the Emperor in which for the first time in his life he bitterly repented over his crimes during this period. Writing to his son during those days, Aurangzeb says: "Many were around me when I was born, but now I am going alone. I know not why I am or wherefore I came into the world. I bewail the moments which I have spent forgetful of God's worship. I have not done well by the country or its people. My years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognised His light. Life is transient, and the lost moment never comes back. There is no hope for me in the future. Nothing brought I into the world, but I carry away

with me the burthen of sins. I know not what punishment be in store for me to suffer. Though my trust is in the mercy and goodness of God, I deplore my sins."[3] . . . . . "Every torment I have inflicted, every sin I have committed, every wrong I have done, I carry the consequences with me. Strange, I came with nothing in the world, and now go away with this stupendous caravan of sin."[4]

At last Aurangzeb learnt the lesson which Guru Tegh Bahadur tried to drive home to his mind, though he learnt it when he had done untold damage to his own soul, to his kingdom, and to his faith. The ideal for which Guru Tegh Bahadur, his wife, his son, his grandsons, and the noblest of his disciples laid down their lives, has survived as the most dynamic, and vigorous ethical, and spiritual humanism, which can bring lasting peace, unity, and harmony to our troubled world. Guru Tegh Bahadur looked forward, and died for ushering an era, when all countries, all nations, all communities and faiths, and all cultures and societies, would enjoy complete freedom of thought and expression, and of prayer and worship of the Deity. He believed and died for the morally, and spiritually civilized future of human society, which, through such suffering and sacrifices as his, was bound to learn reverence for life, reverence for all universal ideals, and human respect for institutions and cultures aspiring for the highest truth and enlightenment. All faiths, all creeds, all philosophical systems exploring the mystery of Life and Existence, and aspiring after an ever more clear vision of Love, Justice, and the highest Good, are bound to meet on the common ground of Ultimate Truth. This is the eternal message and meaning of Guru Tegh Bahadur's life of self-consecration and unique martyrdom for the cause of freedom of thought and worship. This is the central philosophy of his life of intense silence, and blazing actions, the soul and spirit of which is everlastingly embodied in his divine Songs.[6] This was his vision and revelation of the true religion of man. This is what he called Sikhism, in its essence and reality.

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[1] tab Auraṅg man me risāvā,
madar des ko pūt paṭhāvā—1
teh āvat sabh lok darāne

bade bade gir her lukāne
hamhū logan adhik darāyo
kāl karam ko maram nā pāyo—2
tab Auraṅg jīa māh risāe
ek ahdīya ihāṁ paṭhāe
ham te bhāj bimūkh je gae
tin ke dhām girāvat bhae—4
Mirza Beg huto teh nāmaṁ
jin dhāhe bimukhan ke dhamaṁ—16

Guru Gobind Singh: *Apnī Kathā*
Shahzāda ko madar des agman

[2] ut Auraṅg jīya adhik risāyo
cār ahdyan aur paṭhāyo
je bemukh tāṅte bac āe
tinke greh pun ine girāe—17

ibid.

[3] *Suraj Prakash; Bansavlinama; Gurbilas patshahi* 10; and all historical biographies of Guru Gobind Singh.

[4] Guru Gobind Singh: *Fatehnama* Tr; by Trilochan Singh, Sikh Review April 1954.

[5] Guru Gobind Singh: *Zafarnama* Tr; by Trilochan Singh, Sikh Review January 1955.

[6] *ibid*

[7] Aurangzeb's Letter to Prince Azam

[8] Aurangzeb's Letter to Kam Bakhsh

[9] All the divine Songs of Guru Tegh Bahadur have been translated into English by the author and are being published with a Commentary, entitled *"Songs of Nirvana"*.

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With Best Compliments
From
DHARAM PARCHAR COMMITTEE
S.G.P.C. Amritsar.

SPAKE GURU TEGH BAHADUR:

Wherefore go to the forest in search of God ?
He is all-pervading and ever detached ;
He is the Indwelling Spirit in thee ;
Just as fragrance resides in the flower,
Just as the image is reflected in every mirror,
So the Light of God dwells within thee.
Seek Him, O brother, in thine own soul.
The supreme truth, the Guru has revealed,
Within and without, the One you must see.
Says Nanak, without realizing your true self,
The mind's delusion shall never be dispelled.

Adi Granth, p 684.

To entertain pride
In going on pilgrimages,
In fasting and in giving charity
Are as useless, O Nanak,
As an elephant taking bath.

All the saints with one voice proclaim
The Spirit of God pervades everyone ;
Meditate on Him, says Nanak,
If you wish to cross life's fearful ocean.

Adi Granth, Sloka 46, 12.

SPAKE GURU TEGH BAHADUR:

O Seers, the uncurbed mind strides,
Wavering from all self-control ;
Stormy passions within it reside,
Lost is the governance of the soul
Wreckless wrath within abides,
And shakes all the mind's repose.
Sense passions steal the jewel of the soul,
Every goodness and virtue they oppose.
In vain have the *yogis* struggled and strived,
The singers have sung their carol.
When the Lord bestows His grace, says Nanak,
All mysteries and misgivings unfold.

Adi Granth, p 219.

He who fears no one,
Nor strikes fear in any one
Consider my mind, says Nanak
Such a man to be a sage.

God is the Saviour of the fallen,
God is the dispeller of fear ;
He is the Father of the disinherited and destitute,
Sayeth Nanak: He ever dwells within.

Adi Granth Sloka, 16, 6.